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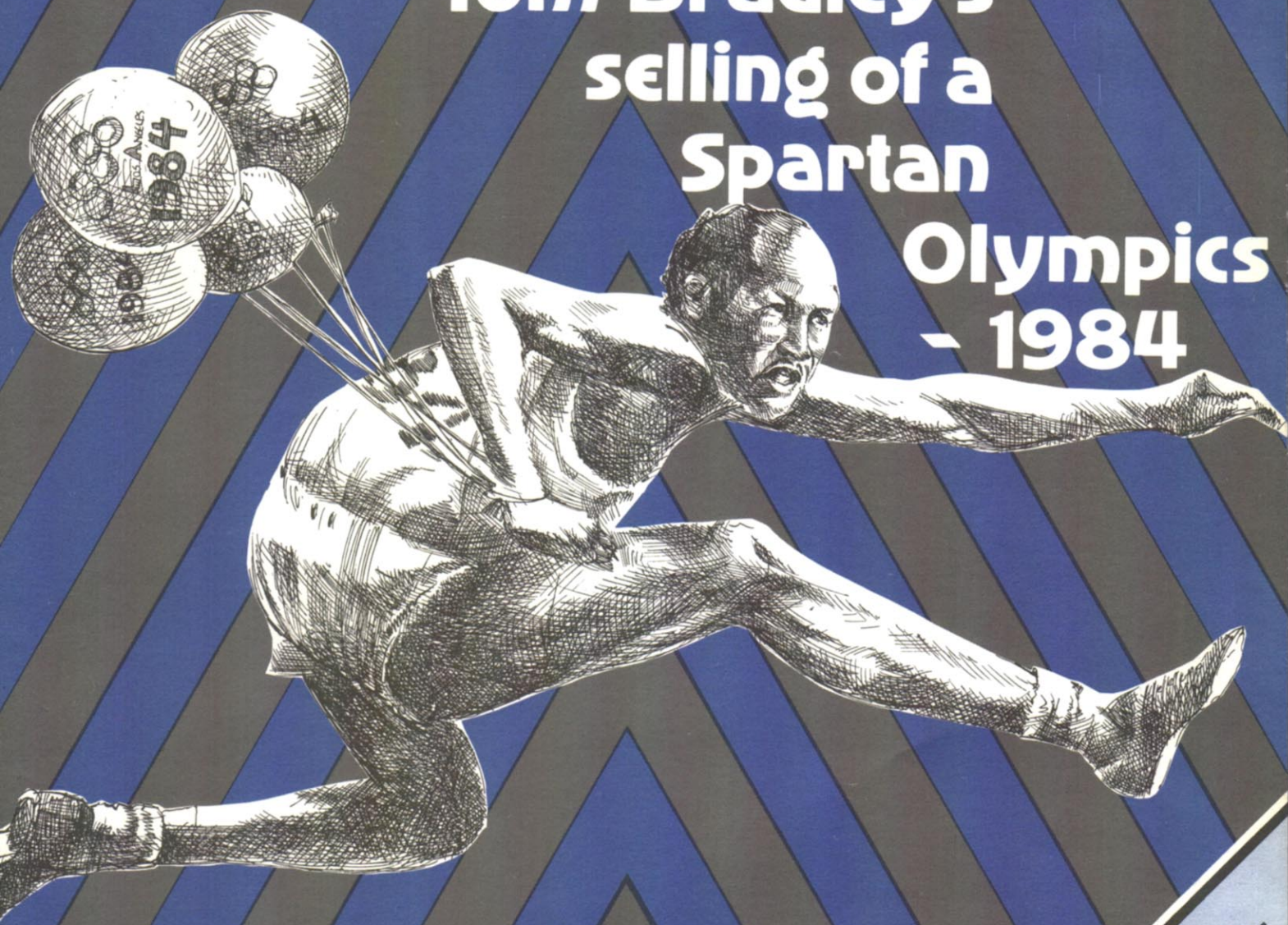
California Journal

THE MONTHLY ANALYSIS OF STATE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

WILL THE WORLD BUY IT?

Tom Bradley's selling of a Spartan Olympics - 1984



The victories of 'Crazy Pete'

Brown and the liberals

Special Supplement
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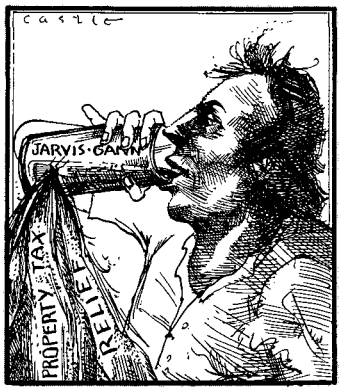
Personal

PERSPECTIVE

By Ed Salzman



Stretching the initiative

What a time Congress picked to consider the adoption of a national initiative system based on the California model. Within the state, the initiative process has gone out of control. There are so many groups seeking signatures you'd think the state didn't have a Legislature.

The most significant issue facing voters this June will be the fate of an initiative proposal, the so-called Jarvis-Gann tax plan. Its fiscal implications are so complex and so far-reaching that the average voter cannot possibly understand the measure. Some 1.2 million Californians, convinced that property taxes have skyrocketed beyond reason, signed Jarvis-Gann petitions. Now it is the task of the state's political leaders, newspapers and economic experts to convince Californians that the measure is like an immature orange, dollar-green on the outside and sour on the inside.

The first step will be for Governor Brown and the Legislature to agree on a property tax relief program large enough and equitable enough to please the public. The funds to pay for this package would come from the state's large surplus and future growth in personal income tax revenues.

The problem is that this may not have enough voter appeal to compete with the meat-axe Jarvis-Gann approach, which seems to say that the property tax will be cut by two-thirds, period. The fact is that the state would have to levy new taxes to make up for the loss of some $8 billion in the first year. Look at some of the things Jarvis-Gann would do:

- *In order to make up the loss, the state would have to boost income taxes some 150 percent, double the sales tax to 12 percent, or restore taxation on all business inventories and increase the bank and corporation tax from nine to 44 percent – or some combination of the three.*
- *Renters would get none of the direct benefits of the property-tax reduction, but they would have to pay new taxes on individuals.*
- *If business taxes were not raised substantially, the lion's share of the relief would go to commercial and industrial firms – not to homeowners.*
- *Two Californians, owning identical homes side by side, might pay significantly different amounts of property taxes because of a provision in the initiative that would penalize those who move often and favor those who stay put.*
- *The biggest winner would probably be the federal government, which would collect more income taxes from Californians losing property-tax exemptions and would have to give the state less in revenue-sharing funds.*

The initiative process has generally served California well since it was put into the Constitution by the Hiram Johnson reformers 60-odd years ago. It was intended as a threat available to the voters when the politicians placed the desires of special interests ahead of the will of the people.

It is one thing to cajole the Legislature into responsible action, as Jarvis-Gann appears to have done. It is quite another thing to tempt the public with a reduction in taxes without telling the voters how the replacement funds would be provided and precisely how each individual's pocketbook would be affected.

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From Burlingame comes word that the California Teachers Association may be pinching pennies for a while. The CTA top brass was shocked to discover that the organization's books weren't balanced and that CTA is deeply in the red.

For more than a year, businessman George Hensel of Monterey Park has been plotting the overthrow of state Senator Alfred Song in this June's Democratic primary. Hensel had planned to spend $150,000 for the campaign. But that was before Song suffered a rash of adverse publicity from the FBI investigation of the Legislature. Now, Hensel is budgeting a mere $100,000 for the race.

Another Democratic incumbent under primary attack is Assemblyman Mike Cullen of Long Beach. His opponent, Dave Elder, is telling the voters that Cullen hasn't lived in the district for 10 years but is really a Sacramentan.

Efforts are under way to qualify a counter-culture political party for the California ballot. The so-called Unity Party is based on opposition to Governor Brown and support for the concepts embodied in the novel *Ecotopia* by Ernest (Chick) Callenbach of Berkeley. Callenbach's utopia envisions Northern California, Oregon and Washington seceding from the United States to form a pure ecological nation.

From the *Right Report,* a conservative newsletter: "State Senator H. L. (Bill) Richardson of California intends to throw himself more deeply into the American Legislative Exchange Council. 'By introducing the same attractive conservative proposals simultaneously in 10 or 15 state legislatures,' Richardson told us, 'we can force the national liberal groups to spread their forces too thin to be effective.' "

If Jerry Brown wins another term and continues to refuse a pay raise, he'll be one of the lowest-paid governors in the nation before he leaves office. He currently ranks 17th and is dropping rapidly.

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HAVE YOU EVER HAD THE FEELING WHEN LISTENING TO POLITICIANS THAT THEY'RE NOT SAYING EXACTLY WHAT THEY MEAN?

BE CONFUSED NO LONGER AS WE PRESENT

The Politicianese Translation Guide

They say:
We have so many duties other than voting.
Translation:
I consider my beauty sleep a duty.
They say:
I was only kidding when I said I couldn't make it on $42,000 a year.
Translation:
Who knew the microphone was on?
They say:
I'm glad you asked that question.
Translation:
I'd like to tear your heart out while I think of an answer.
They say:
I only *borrowed* the $2,600 from that lobbyist.
Translation:
Well, by now I'm sure you're catching on to how this works; besides, we're not that dumb, are we?
-Lee Judge

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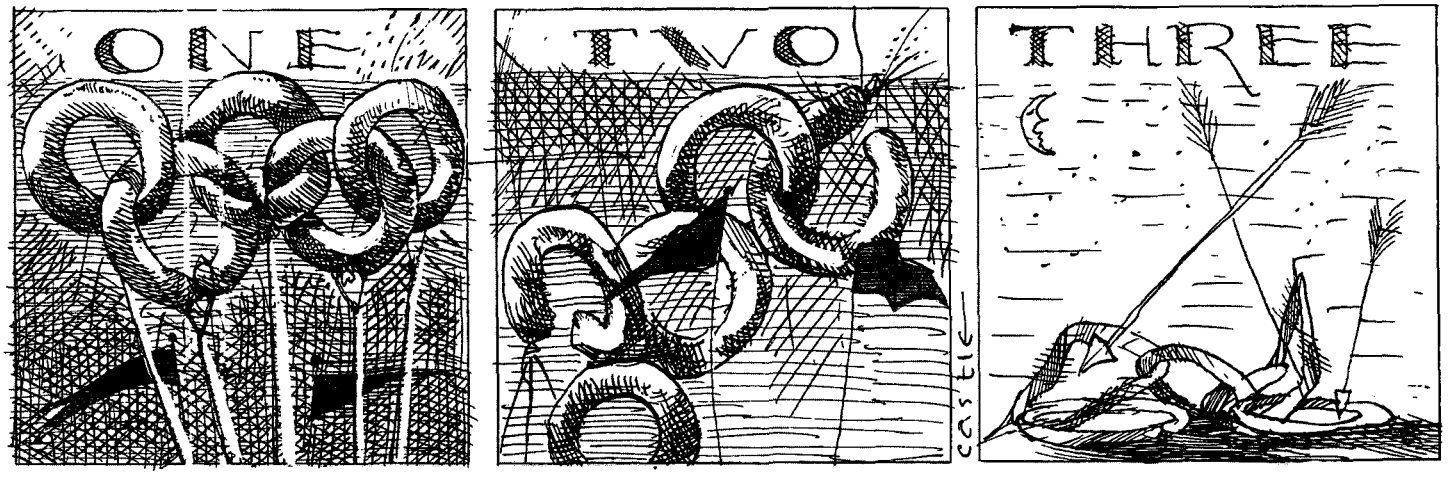
The three scenarios for the LA Olympic Games

By MICHELE WILLENS



"Ignorance is strength." George Orwell, "1984"

Scenario #1

(California, 1984) Millions of Americans poured into Los Angeles for two weeks this summer for the Olympics. They were smoothly bused from rowing in the Marina to swimming in the Valley to gymnastics in Pasadena. As promised, by city officials in 1977-78, the Los Angeles Olympics were more simplified than previous games and even brought the city millions of dollars in revenues. In Sacramento, Governor Tom Bradley smiled proudly.

Scenario #2

(California, 1984) Millions of Americans came to Los Angeles for the summer Olympics only to spend most of their time in massive traffic jams, trying to get from one end of the sprawling city to another. If they did make it to a gate, they had to pay up to $100 a ticket and make their way through lines of local residents carrying "Olympics go home" signs. Due to soaring costs for transportation, facilities, security and assorted frills, Los Angeles taxpayers have had their property taxes raised and many of the city's social programs have been scrapped. Tom Bradley hid under his chair in his president-appointed post in Washington.

Scenario #3

(California, 1984) There were no Olympics this year.

Michele Willens is a Los Angeles free lance writer and a former reporter for the Los Angeles Times *and* KNXT-TV.

There was a time when the Olympiad conjured up positive thoughts: performance, pageantry, patriotism. That time may be behind us. Now, the word "Olympics" carries overtones of financial disaster, potential terrorism and political repercussions.

Names like Munich only bring chills. So does Montreal, the city that went more than a billion dollars into debt hosting the 1976 games. In fact, every Olympics since 1932 has lost money, and taxpayers have been forced to foot the bills. So who would want the Olympics?

Los Angeles does. It has been trying to get the games back since successfully holding the 1932 event. At last the city is in the final phase of a bid for the 1984 games — helped greatly by the fact that no one else in the world seriously bid for the games.

Promoters of the Olympics like to say that the lack of competition resulted from a feeling that LA deserved the Olympics after losing the 1980 games to Moscow. But in truth, no one can afford the games in the style to which they've become accustomed. Even the Shah of Iran bowed out of the '84 bidding, saying "We can't afford it."

But Los Angeles is convinced it can put on successful games again, by using existing facilities rather than building new ones, and by rejecting the luxurious wishes of those who participate.

Most people think Los Angeles has all but been assured of the '84 games. For several months that seemed true. But now, a couple of things threaten the city's chances of getting the games. And the very future of the Olympics may be at stake.

The first threat is a move to put the issue of the Olympics

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on a ballot. Pro-Olympic forces have not been able to come up with realistic estimates of what the games will cost, and concern among voters is growing. The city has simply asked its people to believe that what's happened in all the other host cities won't happen in Los Angeles.

A second problem revolves around the *kind* of Olympics the city envisions: necessities only and no frills. It's not the kind of event to which the International Olympic Committee — the committee that gives final approval to a city — and the various sports federations have been accustomed. The final negotiations over exactly how "Spartan" the games can be will occur in May in Athens. At that time, city officials will sit down with members of the ICC and make their final presentation.

The city's bidding officially began last summer when a California delegation made its initial pitch to the United States Olympic Committee. Even Governor Jerry Brown got into the act, making a brief but effective appearance on behalf of Los Angeles. The USOC agreed that LA and not New York (the country's only other bidder) should be the candidate city in Athens.

The LA bid has been spearheaded by Mayor Tom Bradley and his Olympic Representative, Anton Calleia. Bradley, Calleia and the Southern California Committee for the Olympic Games (SCCOG), a private group which has been trying to get the games, have been accused by critics of operating on an Orewellian theory: The ignorance of others is your greatest strength. In other words, the less citizens and city council members know about putting on an Olympics, the better the chances that the games will come off.

So the city has been talking rosy revenues and the council, for many months, has asked few questions. Council members advanced money for the bidding and agreed to a public opinion survey to assure the various Olympic committees that the citizens of LA favored the games.

But slowly, public ignorance is being replaced with informed concern, and the force may no longer be with the mayor and Olympics promoters. The erosion of support is based largely on economics, but politics too has played a role. The new Olympics-style politics involves some ambitious persons who see the potential for using the games as a memorable campaign issue.

Such politicians do not necessarily favor the games. Indeed, the astute thing may be to come out against the games. One only has to look back to Denver's bid for the 1976 games to understand why. Then a bid was made by the city, with little public awareness and inadequate homework. Even after thousands of dollars had been spent on the bid, a group of officials and concerned citizens started asking hard economic and environmental questions. Eventually they forced the issue onto a ballot and the voters of Colorado said no to hosting the Olympics. The men who led that anti-Olympic crusade were then-legislator Richard Lamm and organizer Sam Brown. Lamm is now governor of the state and Brown went on to be elected treasurer.

Ronka with the ball

One man very aware of all this is Los Angeles City Councilman Bob Ronka — young, handsome and a first-year councilman. He has taken the Olympics ball and run with it in the past few months, despite pressure from business and labor, and a cold shoulder from the mayor. Ronka claims he isn't anti-Olympics, but that he wants an iron-clad guarantee the games won't cost taxpayers anything. Ronka says he's acting purely in the public interest, but after he made a trip to Colorado to speak with Governor Lamm, suspicions set in. Olympic backers say Ronka is using the games for political purposes.

Undaunted, Ronka has proposed a referendum to write into the city charter assurances that no taxpayers' money

will be used for the games. Most council members prefer a strongly worded ordinance saying the same thing, but avoiding the cost of a ballot measure. Ronka claims that an ordinance put into effect by eight council members could be undone by eight votes at any time in the future. He says it wouldn't be strong enough six years from now, when there may be a new city council, when costs for the games may skyrocket and when everyone is caught up in Olympic fever.

If Ronka can't get the council to put the Olympics question on the ballot, wary citizens may put it there through the initiative process. That would most likely happen in November, and the proposal would probably ask: Do you want the Olympics, assuming there is no cost for the taxpayer?

Supporters of the games oppose such a vote. They say the early public opinion survey already indicated what the people think. (81 percent said yes to the Olympics at no extra costs.) They also think such a vote sets a bad precedent.

"Elected officials can't say 'let's take it to the people' every time there's a controversy," says Bill Robertson, head of the local AFL-CIO. "What did we elect them for?"

"We will lose credibility as a city," says attorney and Democratic Party power Paul Ziffren. "If we have to have a vote everytime someone wants to do something in this city, we're in big trouble."

More important, the pro-forces say, a pending referendum will badly hurt the city's bargaining position in Athens. Anton Calleia even threatens to drop out altogether.

"We could not go to Athens with a referendum hanging over our heads on this issue," Calleia says. "The mayor will have to go to the committee and ask for the withdrawal of our bid. The prestige of the United States rides on how we conduct ourselves."

But Bradley and other backers profess optimism and say they don't think anti-Olympics groups will come up with enough signatures to reach a ballot. On the other hand, Ronka and fellow City Councilman Ernani Bernardi have

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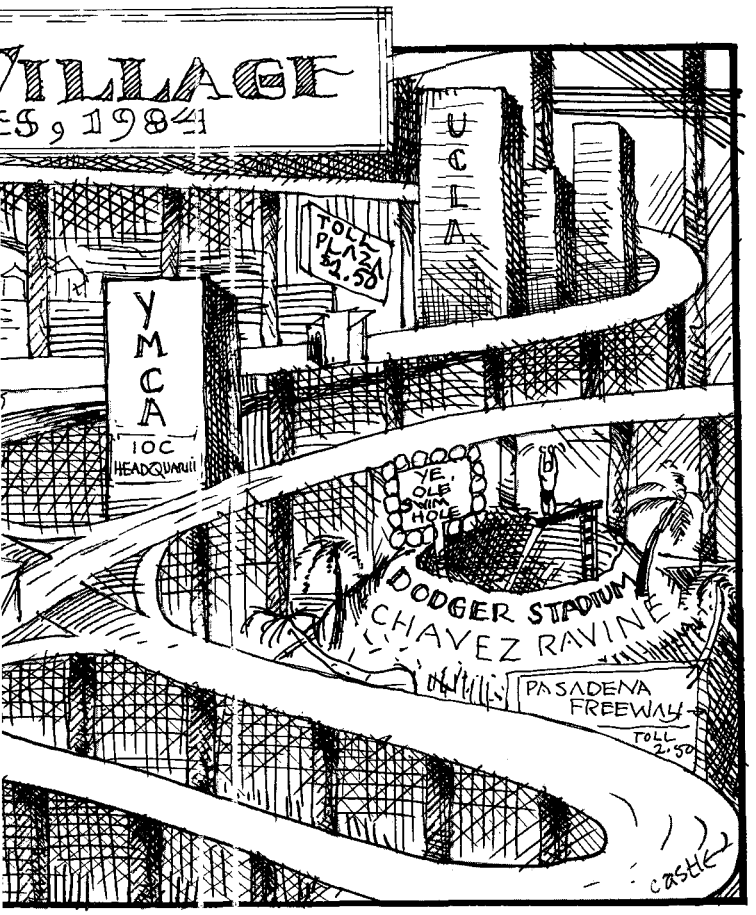

both received hundreds of letters from concerned constituents. And a citizens group formed to fight the games seems confident that as more people learn about the issue, they'll be less likely to accept anything but a legal guarantee on the question of financing.

Clearly, Bradley is worried about what happens if the issue does eventually make a ballot. "It's very easy to whip up negative reaction to something," he says. "If you pose something in a negative way, you'll get a negative reaction."

The cost controversy

Ronka and other skeptics say they are worried because even the people planning the 1984 games have no idea how much they will cost. The Bradley-Calleia budget for the games predicts a surplus of close to one million dollars. It also projects millions of dollars in revenue from various taxes on the Olympic events.

But City Administrative Officer Erwin Piper has put together a budget of his own for the proposed games. It came up with a huge possible deficit somewhere between $200 million and $400 million.

All kinds of reasons were offered for the difference between the two budgets. Piper was said to have estimated ticket prices at $10, Calleia at $25. Piper estimated television revenue at $20 million, while Calleia says he's been assured it will be more like $66 million.

Finally Piper told everyone to calm down. Getting into the numbers game this early would only waste energy and cause panic, he said. He urged a strong contract between the IOC and the Olympic Organizing Committee, which will be the city's financial watchdog on the games, appointed by Bradley when — and if — the city gets the games.

Calleia too finally admitted that any attempts at predicting exact costs were "bull." Such statements, plus backers' admissions of lack of proper planning, have only added fuel to the anti-Olympians' torch.

Equally ominous has been the escalation of estimated auxiliary costs for the games. For example, the Los Angeles Police Department first estimated its security costs at $2 million. When last asked, the department said it would cost around $7 million. In Montreal, security costs rose to more than $100 million, largely for anti-terrorist precautions.

"While the public struggles to find the truth, they see figures that change dramatically almost daily," says Peter Scott, cochairman of "Concerned Citizens: Olympics." "It seems to us that a private citizen could have done more planning and shown more common sense than has been shown so far on this event."

The cost of renovating the city's Coliseum also has crept up about $5 million since early estimates. But Mayor Bradley says it's worth it.

"Ours will be modest costs when compared with the revenue that will come to the city — the bed tax, the sales tax, the tax on admissions to the games. We see at least $6 million. We see a magnificent swim stadium we don't have now. We see refurbished facilities such as the Coliseum."

A swim stadium is one of three facilities Bradley says the city is willing to commit itself to building. The others are a rowing facility and a velodrome for cycling events. The city plans to use existing college facilities for the rest of the events and hopes the IOC will agree to substituting college dorms for the traditional Olympic village.

Hanging tough in Athens

Bradley and Calleia say they'll hang tough at the negotiating table in Athens and won't fall prey to the usual demands of the IOC and the various sports federations. But they've been warned by someone who just went through the process that hanging tough is not easy.

"You get dragged into things, not knowing what you're getting into," says Montreal City Councilman Nicholas Aus der Maur. He says Montreal had all the same good intentions as Los Angeles, and that its mayor said exactly what Bradley is saying. "It's very hard to deal with those people at that table," Aus der Maur says. "The IOC members and those who run the federations are a different breed of people."

Aus der Maur came to Los Angeles to support Ronka's ballot proposal, saying it could be the best bargaining chip of all: "If you have it in law that your citizens won't let you spend money, the IOC and federations can't blackmail you."

The Montreal councilman also casts doubt on LA's proposed operating costs of $150 million. He says any figure under $500 million is unrealistic.

To help with those costs, Los Angeles is hoping for a big donation from the federal government. Congress is already on record as endorsing the Los Angeles 1984 games. U.S. Senator Alan Cranston, a booster of the games, says he'll push for financial support "within reason" to go along with the endorsement.

As for the state, Governor Brown continues to say it won't give a penny for the Olympics. "That's a local matter and the city has assured me it will not cost citizens anything and will be an Olympics of modesty rather than opulence. An austere Olympics is the only kind I support."

Anton Calleia won't deny the possibility that the Governor may be asked to consider changing his mind, somewhere down the line.

Calleia and city officials recently returned to the IOC a bundle of questionnaires required by the committee and various sports federations. Negotiations over the city's responses may determine if LA ends up with an Olympics in 1984. Reading through the questionnaires helps with an understanding of why nobody bids for the games anymore.

Just about all the sports federations expect luxury: sauna and massage rooms; back-up stadiums, fields and pools; conference rooms, first aid rooms, special chairs, drivers and accommodations for officers of the federations.

The International Equestrian Federation wanted to know

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whether the arena would have suitable huts for the five judges as well as a special hut for the top officers of the federation. And it asked if there would be one or two warming-up sand arenas as well as at least six practice sand arenas.

The questionnaire from the cycling federation reads: "A press and radio information service must be organized. Also to be provided: a stand for the delegates and the press (100-120 seats), an installation for the steward and the timing department, a car park for the participants, a restaurant, a secretarial service, etc."

Anton Calleia says that LA was answering "no" to a lot of the requirements. Whether the federations and IOC will agree to air travel in coach, rather than first class, will be learned in Athens. LA's greatest advantage is that the IOC well knows that a Spartan Olympics is better than no Olympics at all.

Winners and losers

Who will be the winners and losers of the Olympics' political marathon? Tom Bradley and Bob Ronka have the most to gain — and to lose — depending which way the decision goes. If the ballot threat becomes too discomforting and the city withdraws its bid, the mayor will look weak. If LA is given the bid in Athens and then the issue gets on the ballot, Bradley will have to go out and campaign for the games. Then, if the voters say no, he will have suffered a major defeat.

But, if the games are accepted for Los Angeles and there is no public referendum, or if the voters say yes, Bradley may be urged — against all previous pledges — to run for a third term. Persons close to him say the pressure is already building. Many observers feel the Olympics have a better chance of ending up as planned if the man who first committed the city to them is in the driver's seat when they finally arrive.

"Some have speculated about my running again," Bradley says. "But there's no serious mandate. It would be exciting just to be alive in this city in an Olympics year. To be mayor would be a bonus."

Then, of course, there are all the other potential losers if the '84 games are staged in LA and turn out to be a disaster scene. If they end up costing the taxpayers a lot of money the voters could throw out every politician — from Cranston and Brown on down — who is on record as having favored the games.

The biggest loser of all, however, could be the Olympic games. Bradley likes to say his city is in a unique position to "save the Olympics." That may be somewhat overstated, but the fact remains that no other city in the world seems to think it can hold an Olympics. The terrorist tragedy of Munich scared some away, but the biggest hurdle is the astronomical cost involved.

"If I were a member of the IOC," says Anton Calleia, "I think I'd be very worried. If we don't reach agreement with the committee, there might not be another Olympics."

People have already started proposing alternatives to traditional Olympics. One would be having the United Nations sponsor the games, with each country paying its own way. Another idea is using previous host cities over and over, since they already have the facilities. (They also still have the deficits, which prevents most of the cities from wanting the games back.)

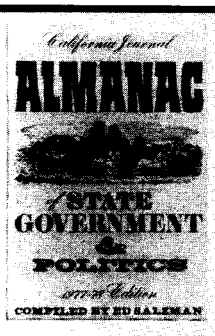
Governor Brown has talked about an Olympiad with different events in different cities, connected by satellite and other means of communications.

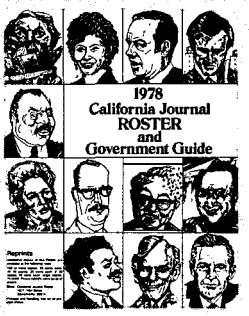
In the meantime, it can go either way for Los Angeles. The city may be the last hope for the Olympics of the past — or it may present a new kind of Olympics, one more in keeping with the times.

"If we can break the trend of extravagant games, we can set the trend for a whole new kind of event," says Tom Bradley.

For Bradley, the Olympics may represent his last and best achievement as mayor. For Ronka and other critics, the games may provide an issue on which to build political futures. For many citizens, the issue is whether they can trust grand promises from officials in high places.

But all of them share one common fear: A decade from now, some mayor in some other city may be saying to his voters, "*We* can put on a Spartan Olympics. We don't have to turn into another Los Angeles."





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Will liberal Democrats continue to back Brown?

ILLUSTRATION BY DONNA RIVERS

By Ed Salzman

If the sporting oddsmakers of Nevada were analyzing this year's gubernatorial election, how would they handicap the race?

First, they would recognize the strength of the incumbent, Democrat Jerry Brown, and give him extra points for the support the polls indicate he would get from Republican voters. Brown would also be given credit for moving to the political center and for broadening his base since his narrow victory over Houston Flournoy four years ago. The gamblers would figure Brown as the favorite over any Republican challenger on this basis alone.

Then, they would assess the potency of the potential Republican opposition. Based on the polls, they would figure that either Attorney General Evelle J. Younger or retired Los Angeles Police Chief Ed Davis would win the June GOP primary. Younger would be rated too dull and too beset with political liabilities to make the race close. And Davis would be considered too far to the right and too prone to the wild statement. Neither Mayor Pete Wilson of San Diego nor Assemblyman Ken Maddy of Fresno would be expected to leap over the two frontrunners in the four months remaining before the primary — but either of them would be rated stronger opposition for Brown in November because of their youth and position at the center of the political spectrum.

Would the oddsmakers ignore the fact that Brown has alienated the liberal wing of the Democratic Party, the very element that usually provides the energy and leadership for Democratic campaigns? Would the makers of the book discount the Governor's increasing difficulty with the large Democratic majorities in both houses of the Legislature? In both cases, the answer is yes because there simply will be no other place for the disenchanted Democrats of the left to go in the June election. The conservative Democrats will have an option in November, but these are the Democrats Brown has done the most to please. They can hardly be expected to vote for the first announced Democratic candidate, William A. Burkett, a conservative Pebble Beach financier, in June.

Converting disenchantment

But no politician can be — or should be — that invincible in a democratic society. Isn't there some way that the Democratic disenchantment with Brown could be converted to protest votes in the June primary — or even in November? What would happen if someone carrying the liberal banner ran against Brown in June? It would depend entirely on who that someone was. At the moment, there isn't any leading Democratic politician in the state ready to make the attempt. (There have been indications that Senator Alfred E. Alquist of San Jose might run, but he is too old and too

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ILLUSTRATION BY DONNA RIVERS

conservative to mount a serious threat.)

Probably the most fascinating scenario would be a primary battle between the Governor and his namesake, Assemblyman Willie L. Brown of San Francisco. In fact, Willie Brown is probably the only California politician who could force Brown to feel concerned about the June primary. The assemblyman could attract liberal voters who are upset about the Governor's move to the right, those in the minority communities plus those who are attracted to showmanship, charisma and rhetoric in a politician. Willie Brown knows how to stir the juices of an audience, and he does it with great flare and wit. (Remember his cry at the 1972 Democratic national convention: "Give me back my delegation!")

Willie Brown is also a politician, and the first rule of the game is survival. He is not about to give up his seat in the Legislature for a long-shot run against an incumbent governor. The assemblyman estimates that a relatively unknown liberal running against Governor Brown in the June primary on issues alone would attract less than 20 percent of the vote. This is an era in which personality is more important than issues, and the successful candidate must have a following throughout the state on which to base a campaign — plus the capacity to whip Brown via television.

The Governor has done a great deal in the past year to offend liberals. He walked away from his opposition to the 160-acre limitation (See "The Great Farm Flip-Flop, *CJ*, January 1978); he told a labor group that jobs have a higher priority than the environment; he has abandoned his ultra-liberal proposal for property tax reform, the so-called circuit-breaker scheme; he has bent over backwards, more so than even a Republican could be expected to do, to help the business interests of the state. He has also angered some legislators with the way he handled additional funds for mental health programs, refusing to respond to legislative pleas and then jumping in with a big bundle of cash at the politically opportune moment. At least, that's the way most lawmakers analyzed it at the start of the 1978 session, when there was something of a rebellion afoot against the Governor.

Willie Brown says the Governor's pro-business campaign has not convinced the liberal entrepreneurs of Northern California. According to Brown, they are upset about the Governor's "indifferent attitude toward principle" and his "outright cynicism."

One of the reasons Willie Brown isn't even giving a first thought to running for Governor is that he holds Jerry Brown in awe as a politician. "He's the best politician the laboratories have ever produced," Willie Brown says. "He has brainpower, a star quality and a keen sense of where things are." Every time a politician thinks the Governor has made a mistake, Brown adds, it turns out that the Governor is right and the mere mortal is wrong.

Dealing with the disaffected

The liberal disaffection with the Governor is not limited to jealous Democratic legislators, who have long begrudged Brown the rise to political power on his father's name, or to those who blame Brown for inciting the public to approve the Political Reform Act of 1974. Tom Hayden, the liberal activist who ran a strong race against former U.S. Senator John Tunney in the Democratic primary two years ago, sent Brown a message in the newsletter of his Campaign for Economic Democracy. Hayden suggests that the term "recycled Reaganism," which Brown used in 1974 to describe Flournoy, might now well be applied to the Governor. "The problem, I think, is that you have become a secular priest," wrote Hayden. "You are governing us as if we were a parish. You place a high priority on participation in ritual and image rather than decision-making." But Hayden will support Brown for another term. He has no reasonable alternative.

The Southern California Americans for Democratic Action have given Brown a C-minus grade on his first three years. Shirley Wechsler of Los Angeles, the organization's national vice president, told the *Sacramento Union:* "We look at the state of California after three years of Democratic leadership and we find no tax reform, the health system in utter chaos, the education bills he (Brown) backed challenged for adequacy. We find him vacillating in many ways. We find Jerry Brown far more shadow than substance."

Brown the political calculator must have known that his moves to the right would offend the likes of Willie Brown, Tom Hayden and Shirley Wechsler. Brown aims his trumpet toward the audience of voters and not toward the other musicians in the political band. It makes little difference to him whether his notes blend with those of other Democrats so long as the public applauds his virtuoso performance. He's doing what it takes to capture a massive majority in November and set himself in position for taking the show on the road in 1980.

If the Democratic left is powerless to challenge the Governor in June, what hope do the Republicans have in November? That, of course, depends to a great extent on which Republican wins the nomination and which issues become hot in the next 10 months.

The usual Republican formula for victory is to hold virtually all the GOP voters and then conduct successful raiding expeditions among Democrats. This year, if Mervin Field's California Poll is consistent, the Republicans will have a different task. Field's survey indicates that Brown could win fully one-third of the Republican votes. This means that the GOP nominee will have to bring back the lost brethren before seeking converts. Brown's support among Republicans can be attributed to the appeal in his pseudo-Spartan lifestyle and the conservative fiscal policies of his administration. (Actually, it is not fair to call Brown a conservative. He is distinctly liberal on such issues as taxation policy, the death penalty, nuclear power and the appointment of minorities.)

The GOP field

On paper, Attorney General Younger should be a formidable opponent for Brown. Younger has held numerous elective jobs, has excellent name identification and has proven himself a calm and effective administrator. Historically, the

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attorney general's office has been a proving ground for governors, and Younger has met the objective tests. The standard reason given for Younger's failure to have the nomination locked up is that he is dull. But Houston Flournoy was dull and he almost defeated Brown, and Younger himself has been elected to several offices.

Younger does not have the kind of personality that makes him a matinee idol. And that's probably why he may well be passed by a Davis, a Wilson or a Maddy in the next few months. Should Younger maintain his lead and win the nomination, he may be the easiest of the Republicans for Brown to defeat. This is because he will find himself on the defensive much of the time. Younger's own surveys indicate that the public did not take kindly to his statement that he was broke and was having trouble making ends meet on $42,000 a year.

In an era when there is criticism of double-dipping — collection of more than one government pension — Younger will have to explain why he will soon be eligible to receive more than $50,000 a year from four government retirement plans (as attorney general, district attorney, superior judge and military officer). The complex GeoTek operation, in which Younger reportedly received favored treatment from the promoter Jack Burke, will be examined again. Younger is apt to be so busy explaining himself he won't find much of an audience for his attacks on Brown.

If Davis gets the nomination, the general election will be a dramatically different affair. Davis' hope for the June primary is to get a consolidated conservative vote, when the moderates are dividing their favors among Younger, Maddy and Wilson. (The other conservative in the race, state Senator John Briggs, does not figure to be a major factor.) Most Republican primaries are won by conservatives, who control most of the money and energy in the party. Davis' problem thus far has been to convince the electorate in general that he isn't a wildman with relatively little knowledge about general affairs of state. Should Davis win, he could find himself in the same position as his close ally, state Senator H. L. (Bill) Richardson, in the U.S. Senate race four years ago. Democrat Alan Cranston defeated Richardson by almost 1.5 million votes.

In addition to being shrewd, Brown has the most vital commodity for a successful politician — luck. The two Republicans who figure to pose the biggest threats — Wilson and Maddy — have been finishing third and fourth in the early polls. Also, they appeal to the same sector of the Republican electorate and thus figure to detract from each other's chance of winning. The biggest obstacle, however, is that they must leap over both Younger and Davis. They feel the same kinds of frustrations that plagued William Matson Roth, Jerome Waldie and Bob Moretti in the 1974 Democratic parimary — the difficulty in moving up with the leaders.

Wilson has a well-organized campaign, and he's been working at it longer than any of the candidates. He has made progress eliminating problems stemming from his 1976 support of Gerald Ford over Ronald Reagan. But his campaign suffered a major blow when the public-employee initiative, which he spearheaded, failed to qualify for the ballot. There is already speculation that if Wilson's standings in the polls do not improve substantially before the filing deadline, he may withdraw.

Should Wilson pull out, Maddy would stand to be the big gainer. It would narrow the field and eliminate competition for the middle-of-the-road vote. It would take another bright new face out of the field. Maddy's biggest problem is name identification. He is an obscure legislator from outside the two major urban centers. What Maddy has going for him is a big bankroll, provided mostly by agribusiness interests, and a star quality that is vital to success in the electronic era. Maddy has already started spending his money for television commercials in an effort to use his good looks and pleasing personality to bolster his ratings in the polls. He needs to move fast, and that's why he's putting money into name identification even if it means he will have fewer dollars to spend when the campaign gets hot. Maddy used to be known as one of the most liberal Republicans in the Assembly, a fact that will help Ed Davis put him down with the pivotal conservative groups. But Maddy recognized this problem early and moved to the right within the Legislature. More importantly, he became a leader in the campaign to elect Reagan president.

No place to go

The candidate who wins the GOP primary in June, even if the campaign is bitter, will probably get united Republican support. The GOP is now too small for the old-fashioned rivalries that used to divide the party. Now the contest is essentially between individuals rather than between warring Goldwater and Rockefeller camps. The party will come together, and there is a good chance that Brown will be denied the large share of GOP votes the polls indicate he could win.

But what of the liberal Democrats? Will they support Jerry Brown if he continues to play footsie with the conservatives? The Democrats in the Legislature may moan and groan, but they will come around. They'll want Brown's drawing power behind them for fund-raising banquets and at election time. And the idealists simply have no other place to go.

To a Nevada bookmaker, Jerry Brown probably looks as well entrenched as any California governor since Earl Warren. He seems to avoid every potential pitfall. The state treasury is loaded with money, and Brown can relieve almost any situation temporarily by throwing dollars at the problem.

But California politics can take strange turns. Chairman William Bennett of the state Board of Equalization, a liberal who is not one of Brown's great admirers, is predicting a close race this November with Ed Davis the challenger. This is based primarily on the assumption that Davis will grow into a charming campaigner and will sell as a novelty item, much like S. I. Hayakawa. If a state can elect an actor as chief executive, it certainly can elect a police chief.

Brown has thus far met every political challenge successfully. He is the master of the change of pace, the reversal of field, the unexpected. In sum, he knows how to keep himself interesting. It is doubtful whether any California politician can thwart him by convincing the voters that Brown's maneuvers are those of a shaman and not of a statesman.

PBS Coverage of State Politics

A half-hour television program on state government and politics can be seen each week over 11 public television stations in California. The program, which is called ***California Tonight***, is hosted by veteran political reporter Rollin Post of KQED-San Francisco. The schedule:

KEET -- Eureka, Friday, 7 p.m.
KOCE -- Huntington Beach, Friday, 7:30 p.m.
KCET -- Los Angeles, Saturday, 7:30 p.m.
KIXE -- Redding, Saturday, 7 p.m.
KVIE -- Sacramento, Friday, 7:30 p.m.
KVCR -- San Bernardino, Friday, 7:30 p.m.
KPBS -- San Diego, Friday, 10 p.m.
KQED -- San Francisco, Saturday, 7 p.m.
KCSM -- San Mateo, Friday, 7 p.m.
KTEH -- San Jose, Friday, 11 p.m.
KTVF -- Fresno, Sunday, 5:30 p.m.

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'Crazy Pete' McCloskey — suddenly a winner in Congress

By GIL BAILEY

What Californian has won the most battles in Congress this year? Pete McCloskey, that's who. Republican representative Paul Norton McCloskey Jr. of Menlo Park — a minority in a minority party, fighter for lost causes — won an astonishing number of lost causes in 1977.

It would be difficult to find a more unlikely winner. This is the congressman nicknamed "Crazy Pete" by some reporters. He defeated Shirley Temple Black in a Republican primary in 1967, and then gained some fame for his early and articulate opposition to the Vietnam War. This is the man who challenged Richard Nixon in the 1972 GOP presidential primaries — and publicly conceded he was considering a switch to the Democratic Party. Hated by the Republican right wing — which has challenged him in every primary except 1976 — he needed the personal intervention of then-Vice President Gerald Ford to save him in the 1974 primary.

Yet today he may well have the best batting average in the California congressional delegation. For McCloskey has:

- **Defeated,** almost singlehandedly, cargo preference legislation favored by President Carter, the AFL-CIO, the House leadership, the maritime industry and unions, and supported by a $1.6 million legislative fund;
- **Forced** the Carter Administration to rewrite and rename its consumer protection agency legislation;
- **Played** a key role in the killing of the Renegotiation Board, an agency much hated by the defense, aerospace and electronics industries of California;
- **Passed** a key amendment to the tuna-porpoise act, important to both the environmentalists and fishermen of California;
- **Repeatedly defeated** his committee, the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, and its chairman, Democratic Representative John Murphy of New York, on the House floor. McCloskey and Murphy are now engaged in what has become a feud of monumental proportions, a conflict which may decide the fate of the troubled U.S. maritime industry.

Among the losers

As Pete McCloskey has been winning, California Democrats in Congress have been losing. Representative Phillip Burton of San Francisco lost a House leadership post by one vote, a defeat aided by several defecting Californians. Burton also was unable in 1977 to pass his legislation to expand the Redwood National Park.

Gil Bailey, a Washington correspondent for the Knight-Ridder newspapers, is a frequent contributor to the Journal.

And other senior California House members have had their problems. Democratic Representative Don Edwards of San Jose has worked for years on a massive revision of bankruptcy law. When his carefully prepared bill went to the House floor, the House voted to amend it in such a way that Edwards withdrew the legislation. Back to the legislative drawing boards. Democratic Representative Harold T. (Biz) Johnson of Roseville could have been chairman of the water-critical House Interior Committee in the midst of the California drought. But Congressman Morris K. Udall of Arizona threatened to challenge him for the job and Johnson bowed out, accepting instead the chairmanship of the Public Works Committee.

On the Senate side it isn't much better. Democratic Senator Alan Cranston did win a leadership post, but he was no more effective than Burton on the question of expansion of the Redwood park. And his waffling on that question didn't help. Cranston also has been criticized for paying more attention to his leadership post than to California issues. In reply, his aides have produced a list of California accomplishments almost as long as the one produced by aides to former Senator John Tunney shortly before he was retired by the voters in 1976.

And then, of course, there is Republican Senator S. I. Hayakawa. His finest moment may have come in a Senate hearing when he called Cranston "the senior senator from Minnesota."

Legislatively, Hayakawa has cancelled Cranston's vote on the tuna-porpoise issue, the expansion of the Redwood park and several other California issues. They are, however, in agreement on the Panama Canal treaty. They both favor it.

Case study of a victory

So McCloskey's victories have stood out in what otherwise has been a dismal year for California in Washington. But how can McCloskey — who is practically an outlaw in his own party — seriously be considered a power in the House?

The cargo preference bill may tell that story. The legislation would have required that 9.5 percent of all imported oil be carried in American ships. The maritime industry and its unions raised an estimated $1.6 million to help assure its passage. President Carter, who had received a key endorsement and important campaign contributions from the industry and its unions during the 1976 presidential primaries, supported it. The House leadership supported it. The industry and its unions are heavy contributors to congressional campaigns.

The House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee approved the bill on a 34-5 vote. But McCloskey was op-

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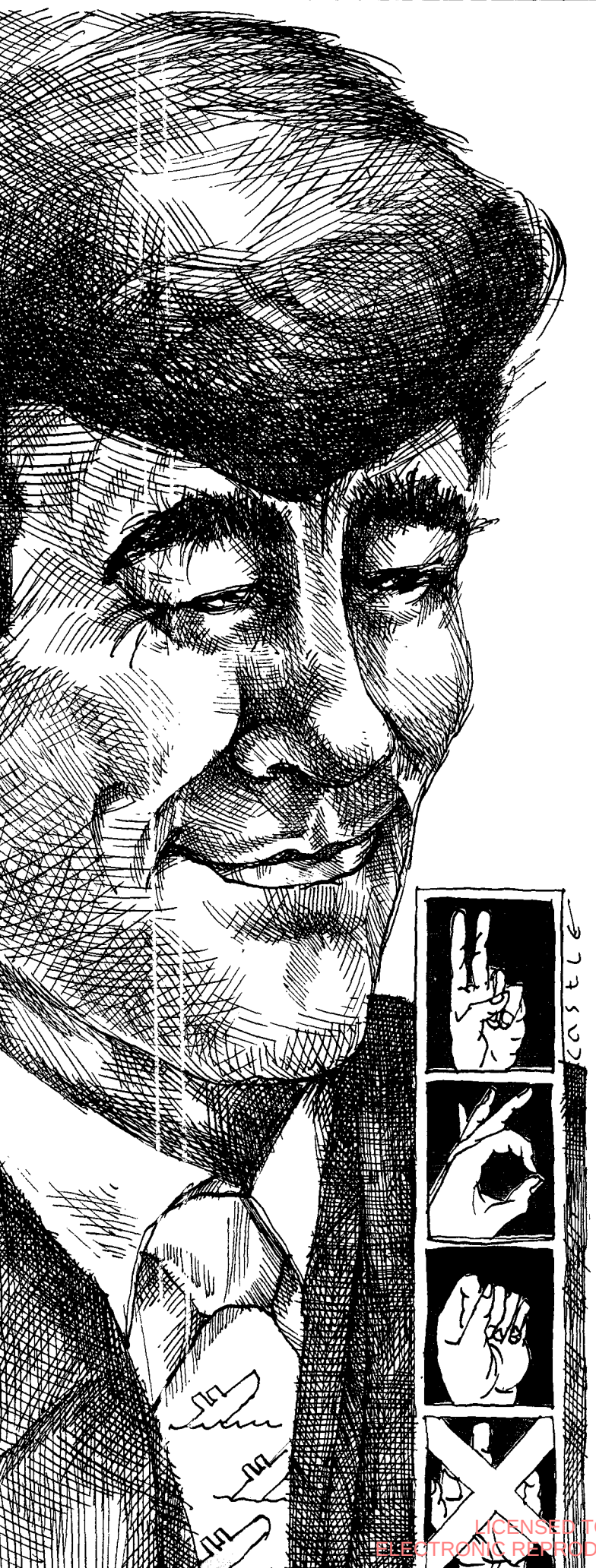

posed. So was Common Cause, the "citizens lobby," which is not always a winner in Washington.

The committee fight in the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries had been heated. And the House floor debate was even hotter. McCloskey tried to call Carter Administration witnesses opposed to the legislation. The administration refused to provide them, and committee chairman Murphy and House Speaker Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill refused to subpoena them. McCloskey got hold of and leaked a series of internal White House memos, pointing out the disadvantages of the legislation. Knight-Ridder newspapers and then the *Washington Star* printed the memos.

A White House source, when asked about the memos, gulped and said, "I knew this place leaked but I didn't know it leaked that much." The White House press office, when asked whether President Carter had initialed one of the documents as a copy seemed to show, replied, "Off the record, we won't deny it."

The fight bubbled in print and on the House floor. On October 19th the bill, after being pulled back several times, came up for a floor vote. The White House lobbyists were there, arguing for it, although at this point with a certain lack of enthusiasm. The AFL-CIO was represented, and so were the maritime industry and unions. The early votes indicated McCloskey would lose, as some of his usual allies voted against him on a series of amendments.

And at one crucial point McCloskey almost made a fatal mistake. While talking to an aide, he missed the final reading of the bill, and Speaker O'Neill declared it passed on a voice vote. However, Murphy agreed to a roll call vote, recognizing the popular outcry if O'Neill's ruling stood.

The vote was surprising. Many members held back their votes, but the early trends during the 15-minute voting period showed the bill losing. Democratic Representative Norman Y. Mineta of San Jose, a House sophomore, was not atypical. Usually a McCloskey all, he had voted against two McCloskey amendments, as had Democratic Representative Don Edwards, also of San Jose. On the final vote, Mineta, who has an almost perfect labor voting record, held back. There were 16 seconds left when he cast his "No" vote. Edwards too voted against the bill.

Cargo preference was defeated 267 to 165.

McCloskey's victory resulted from several factors. In part, he won the same way he won the Silver Star as a Marine Corps officer: He is as practiced at leading bayonet charges in the House as he was in Korea. He won partly because of sheer energy. He and his office churned out an overwhelming number of statements, "fact sheets," and personal letters on the issue. In part, he won because the Democrats do not view Pete McCloskey as a partisan enemy, which may be a mistake. They have seen him take on the leaders of his own party, particularly Richard Nixon, and they respect him and trust his views because of that.

Dealing with pragmatists

Finally, he won because of the little-understood nature of this Congress, particularly the freshman and sophomore members of the House. They are not "ultra liberals, big spenders" as their Republican opponents attempt to portray them. They are pragmatic politicians.

House Democrats can be divided into three groups. There are the older House Democrats, elected in the 1940s and 1950s — like California Congressmen Johnson, John McFall and John Moss — traditional Democrats, more than a bit conservative. Then there are the liberals of the 1960s: Edwards, Burton and others who were the point men in the battle against the Vietnam War and for civil rights.

Now there is the new class, such as Mineta and Mark Hannaford of Long Beach, Jerry Patterson of Orange

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County and John Krebs of Fresno. These younger members have often joined McCloskey.

An an example, Democratic Representative Fortney (Pete) Stark of Alameda County, a liberal's liberal, wanted to enlarge the staff and the powers of the Renegotiation Board, which is supposed to renegotiate government contracts when they are too favorable to industry. The board is hated by California industry, which claims that the board costs more in red tape than it saves in contract changes. McCloskey opposed Stark, taking him on directly when he said that Hewlett-Packard, a California defense contractor, made $1.8 billion worth of "junk" for the federal government each year.

McCloskey got the aid of Hannaford, who has his share of defense and aerospace industries in his district in and around Long Beach. Hannaford authored the "Hannaford-McCloskey" amendment, a crippling one, to a bill continuing the Renegotiation Board. Cranston did the same on the Senate side. The bill never came up for vote. The board died quietly.

Helping with Panama

Somewhat similar tactics were used in the fight over creation of a Consumer Protection Agency. McCloskey wanted all consumer functions in other federal agencies eliminated if a new agency was to be formed. He picked up enough votes on the Democratic side to force the Carter Administration to rewrite the bill.

In the case of maritime affairs, McCloskey has another advantage. There is little trust in the House for the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee. Its former chairman, former Democratic Representative Edward Garmatz of Maryland, has been indicted for bribery. The committee long has been dominated by maritime interests. The industry itself is wracked by scandal after scandal, including one involving an estimated $100 million a year in illegal rebates.

McCloskey is trusted in the House, at least more so than the committee. As a result, he can win his fights with the committee over illegal rebating (the industry must cooperate with current investigations or lose half a billion dollars in subsidies), limiting the number of porpoises that can be killed by tuna fishermen and cargo preference.

Finally, the Carter Administration needs Pete McCloskey a bit. It hopes his support will help pass the rewritten consumer legislation. Even more important, the White House needs his help for the Panama Canal treaty, which McCloskey supports. Murphy, the New York Democrat who chairs the key House committee concerned about the treaty, Maritime, opposes it.

While McCloskey is deeply involved in House politics, he is not at all certain that he will stay in the House. "Maybe I'll run for attorney general," McCloskey told a California Republican by telephone last fall, with a twinkle in his eye. "Maybe the rednecks will split the vote and I could win."

McCloskey turned to the reporter present. "No," he said rather sadly, "I'm for handgun control. I'm against the death penalty. I'm for decriminalization of marijuana and for civil rights for homosexuals. I wouldn't have a snowball's chance in hell in a statewide Republican primary."

McCloskey clearly would love to run for statewide office, or for national office, again. And he is picking up some feelers from moderate and liberal Republicans. But his chances are limited for, although he is a fiscal conservative, McCloskey is still hated by the Republican right.

McCloskey himself is mercurial in temperament. He is either very up or very down, and since his divorce following the 1972 campaign, his personal life has been a bit hectic. "The women I'm smart enough to want to marry are far too smart to marry me," he comments a bit wryly.

What he will do next is almost impossible to predict. But if McCloskey is not in a fight, he will probably find one, or two or three.

And his view of public life hasn't changed since 1972, when he told Lou Cannon, author of *The McCloskey Challenge*:

"It is hard to say how much is vanity and how much is ambition and how much is desire to be in the public limelight, and how much is patriotism, wanting to serve the country."

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PHANTOM POLITICS
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by Mary Ellen Leary

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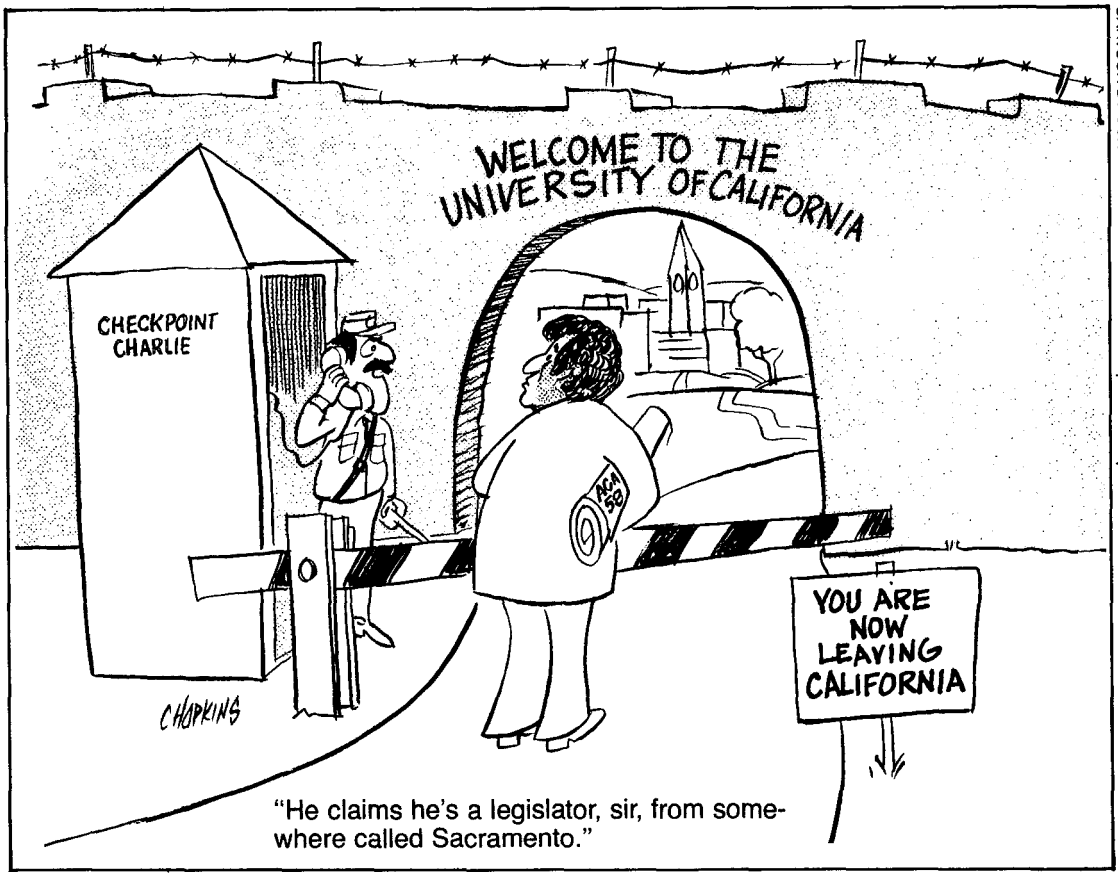
Vasconcellos' subcommittee – the University's nemesis

By DARLENE KING MERCIER

The seeds for conflict between the University of California and the state Legislature are sown in the state constitution. The wonder is that the confrontation between these two major elements of state government didn't develop before last year. It was only at the 11th hour in the consideration of the current state budget that the Legislature pulled away from attempting to attach legal strings to the UC appropriation. If the Legislature had persevered, a legal battle neither side wanted might have ensued.

The issue is the extent of the University's autonomy under the state constitution. Article IX, Section 9 states that "the university shall be entirely independent of all political or sectarian influence and kept free therefrom in the appointment of its regents and in the administration of its affairs." It also grants the Regents "full powers of organization and government, subject only to such legislative control as may be necessary to insure compliance with the terms of the endowments of the university and the security of its funds." This means, according to the University, that the Legislature cannot place detailed restrictions on how the Regents spend their money. But Assemblyman John Vasconcellos of San Jose, chairman of the education subcommittee of the Assembly Ways and Means Committee, argues that the Legislature has "the constitutional right to ask questions and to condition any grant of money."


WELCOME TO THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
CHECKPOINT CHARLIE
CHAPKINS
YOU ARE NOW LEAVING CALIFORNIA
"He claims he's a legislator, sir, from somewhere called Sacramento."

CARTOON BY CURT HOPKINS

Reprinted with permission of the California State Employees Association

Darlene King Mercier wrote "Why incompetents aren't fired" in the December 1977 Journal.

The University must come before the governor and the Legislature each year with a request for an appropriation. The basic question involves what form the negotiations over the allocation may take. Vasconcellos last year attempted to go all the way and attach control language to the state budget — language which would have, in effect, established policy for the University. Traditionally, the University position has been that the Regents determine how the University intends to expend its funds. This information is then given to the Legislative as a basis for establishing a proper level of appropriation. If the University uses the funds for different purposes, under this theory, it does so under risk of retaliatory action in the following year's budget hearings.

Over the years, there have been some hot words during the budgetary process, but Vasconcellos was unable last year to muster the strength for enactment of control language. The risks were great for both sides in a legal showdown. The University hardly wants to have a court say that

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the Legislature may establish policy through the power of the pocketbook. And the Legislature doesn't want a court to say that it has little or no voice in how Regents spend taxpayers' money. Yet the Legislature and the governor each year must come up with a total for the University, and the University must present a good argument for its requests or face an unwanted budget slash. Some form of negotiations obviously must take place, and controls are inherent in such a process.

A new lineup

What made the situation different last year? "People from within the university brought more problems to us," Vasconcellos says. "We didn't just invent them."

But appeals to the subcommittee are nothing new. What was new in 1977 was the committee membership. For the first time, Vasconcellos — long a university critic — had a working majority of like-minded members on the budget subcommittee,

Two new Democrats on the committee — Gary Hart of Santa Barbara and Teresa Hughes of Los Angeles — replaced Alister McAlister and now-Senator John Foran. According to Bruce Fuller, former consultant to the Assembly subcommittee on postsecondary education (also headed by Vasconcellos), the new members are "more willing to question the University" than the men they replaced. They joined Vasconcellos and Republican Gordon Duffy, a University critic especially concerned with the health field.

Among the issues aired before Vasconcellos' subcommittee:

- **The question of student fee increases,** brought by the UC Student Lobby. Co-director Jon Haber says students had tried to work out the problem internally with the University on two different occasions and were rebuffed. The Regents wanted to raise student fees and the Student Lobby wanted the fees to stay the same. The subcommittee agreed with the students and appropriated $3 million for laboratory costs (previously funded by student fees) on the condition that the Regents maintain fees at 1976-77 levels.
- **Questions about undergraduate teaching and tenure decisions,** raised by untenured lecturers. They said they were being fired because they devoted more time to teaching than to research and because they had been at UC for eight years and were still untenured, thus violating the University's "eight year tenure or out" rule. A sympathetic education subcommittee drafted another piece of control language which appropriated money for 22 new undergraduate faculty positions only if faculty members were to be tenured and/or promoted primarily on the basis of teaching ability. This issue became the most controversial. According to Steve Arditti, UC lobbyist in Sacramento, the University viewed this as a clear "attempt (by the Legislature) to establish criteria for promotion" and thus an intrusion into the internal affairs of the University. But Dave Jolly, consultant to the Assembly Ways and Means Committee, says it was instead an attempt by the Legislature to make UC adhere to its own policy, which in theory is to stress teaching as well as research in tenure decisions.
- **Farmworkers, displaced by agricultural mechanization** developed through University research projects, also came to the Legislature for help. The education subcommittee inserted supplemental language directing the University "to develop and implement a procedure for determining the social impact of all subsequent University research projects related to agricultural mechanization."

By tradition, the recommendations of a subcommittee are adopted by the full Ways and Means Committee. And the budget approved by the full committee eventually is passed by the Assembly and becomes the vehicle for budget bargaining between the Senate and the Assembly. Last year, Vasconcellos was named by Assembly Speaker Leo McCarthy as one of the three Lower House representatives to the budget conference committee, where he could push for the language inserted by his own subcommittee.

University lobbyist Arditti feels this system produces a "distortion of power" because a five-member subcommittee can have a pivotal proposal rubber-stamped by the entire Assembly. From Arditti's point of view, the system gives Vasconcellos a disproportionate amount of influence.

Vasconcellos came within an ace of getting the control language into the budget. In the early going, the Senate conferees agreed to give him his way. But the University applied pressure to the Senate, which eventually backed down from a constitutional confrontation. So the University maintained its budget autonomy for another year.

Shortly after the budget was adopted, University President David Saxon took a step designed to prevent a showdown in 1978. He recommended to Speaker McCarthy that a liaison committee be established in an effort to improve rapport between the Legislature and UC, and to resolve problems outside the framework of the budget process. McCarthy also is eager to avoid a conflict, and he named a three-member committee, with Vasconcellos the key figure.

McCarthy and the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, Daniel Boatwright, are eager to make peace. But at a year-end meeting on the University's Berkeley campus, Boatwright sent shivers up the spines of UC administrators by offering a checklist of items he thought the liaison committee ought to discuss. Among the items: admissions policies and students fees, endowment funds and public disclosure.

Perhaps more significantly, the University Regents have been changing as Governor Brown appoints new members to replace those selected by former Governor Ronald Reagan. The balance is now delicate, as indicated by the 13-12 vote in favor of tightening freshman entrance requirements.

The basic questions

Will Vasconcellos try to insert control language in the budget this year? That will depend on the state of negotiations when final decisions are made in May and June. Vasconcellos has shown no signs of backing down. He predicts that gradually he will bring the Senate over to his point of view. Eventually, he feels, the Senate will join the Assembly in asking basic questions about how the University is run.

"Our society," Vasconcellos says, "wants a University that is excellent and fine, that provides the best education and research, but that is connected to real people and the real world." The Legislature, he claims, has the responsibility for making sure that "the money taxpayers have authorized us to appropriate is going for the taxpayers' purposes, not just for some private ego trips of academics or intellectuals or an institution in an ivory tower."

From the University point of view, the Board of Regents — not the Legislature — speaks for the public interest, and that's why the governor and other state elected officials serve on the board. University executives feel it is improper for a small group of legislators to sit as a court of appeals and hand down decisions in the form of budgetary control language.

The debate will continue indefinitely, so long as the University must come to the politicians who make up the Legislature for financial support and so long as there are potent lawmakers like Vasconcellos with strong views on how the University ought to be run.

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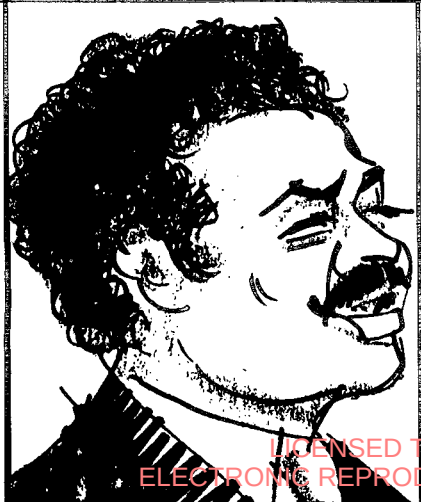

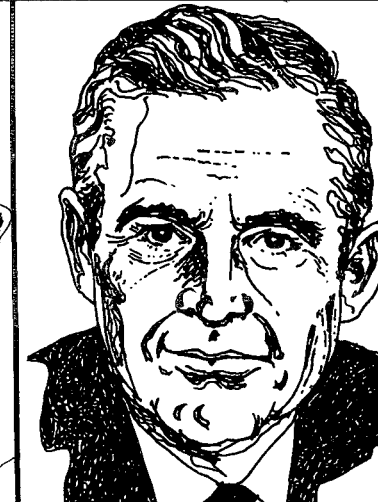

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Van Deerlin, Lionel	D	42	San Diego (southwest)	815 E St., Rm. 205, San Diego 92101	(714) 233-8959
Waxman, Henry A.	D	24	Los Angeles (Hollywood)	8425 West 3rd, Los Angeles 90048	(213) 651-1040
Wiggins, Charles E.	R	39	Orange, (Anaheim, Fullerton)	1400 N. Harbor Blvd., Fullerton 92635	(714) 870-7266
Wilson, Charles H.	D	31	L.A. (Hawthorne, Compton)	15000 Aviation Blvd., Lawndale 90261	(213) 536-6680
Wilson, Bob	R	41	San Diego (Mission Valley)	880 Front St., Suite 6S15, San Diego 92188	(714) 231-0957

*Mail for senators may be addressed to New Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20510, tel. (202) 224-3121.
**Mail for members of the House may be addressed to House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515, tel. (202) 224-3121.

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The California Legislature

Senate

Name	Party	District	Counties	Main District Address*	Telephone Numbers (District)	(Capitol)
Alquist, Alfred E.	D	11	Alameda, San Benito, Santa Clara	777 N. 1st St., San Jose 95112	(408) 286-8318	445-9740
Ayala, Ruben S.	D	32	Los Angeles, San Bernardino	353 W. 6th St., San Bernardino 92401	(714) 383-4497	445-6868
Behr, Peter H.	R	2	Del Norte, Humboldt, Lake, Marin, Mendocino, Sonoma	1299 4th St., San Rafael 94901	(415) 457-9441	445-3375
Beverly, Robert, G.	R	27	Los Angeles	1116 S. Pacific Coast Highway, Redondo Beach 90277	(213) 540-1611	445-6447
Briggs, John V.	R	35	Orange	1441 N. Harbor Blvd., Fullerton 92635	(714) 879-2345	445-4264
Campbell, William	R	33	Los Angeles	7224 Painter Ave., Whittier 90602	(213) 693-8284	445-2848
Carpenter, Dennis E.	R	36	Orange	17880 Skypark Circle, Irvine 92714	(714) 557-3200	445-5831
Carpenter, Paul B.	D	37	Orange	1600 N. Broadway, Santa Ana 92706	(714) 547-9401	445-5581
Cusanovich, Lou	R	19	Los Angeles, Ventura	23241 Ventura Blvd., Woodland Hills 91364	(213) 888-0242	445-8873
Deukmejian, George	R	31	Los Angeles	444 W. Ocean Blvd., Long Beach 90802	(213) 435-4865	445-4961
Dills, Ralph C.	D	28	Los Angeles	16921 S. Western Ave., Gardena 90247	(213) 324-4969	445-5953
Dunlap, John F.	D	4	Napa, Sacramento, Solano, Sonoma, Yolo	583 Coombs St., Napa 94558	(707) 255-2553	445-3353
Foran, John F.	D	6	San Francisco, San Mateo	15 Southgate Ave., Daly City 94015	(415) 755-1766	445-0503
Garamendi, John	D	13	Alpine, Amador, Calaveras, El Dorado, Mono, Sacramento, San Joaquin, Stanislaus, Tuolumne	31 Channel St., Stockton 95202	(209) 948-7930	445-2407
Garcia, Alex P.	D	24	Los Angeles	205 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 90012	(213) 628-5155	445-3456
Greene, Bill	D	29	Los Angeles	8514 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 90003	(213) 620-5600	445-2104
Gregorio, Arlen	D	10	San Mateo, Santa Clara	1177 University Dr., Menlo Park 94025	(415) 323-8448	445-0870
Holden, Nate	D	30	Los Angeles	4401 Crenshaw Blvd., Los Angeles 90043	(213) 295-6655	445-5215
Holmdahl, John W.	D	8	Alameda	22300 Foothill Blvd., Hayward 94541	(415) 538-4844	445-6671
Johnson, Ray	R	1	Butte, Colusa, Glenn, Lassen, Nevada, Placer, Plumas, Shasta, Sierra, Siskiyou, Sutter, Tehama, Trinity, Yuba	2400 Washington Plaza, Redding 96001	(916) 244-6006	445-6747
Marks, Milton	R	5	San Francisco	350 McAllister St., San Francisco 94102	(415) 557-1437	445-1412
Mills, James R.	D	40	San Diego	815 3rd Ave., Chula Vista 92011	(714) 427-7812	445-6767
Nejedly, John A.	R	7	Contra Costa	1855 Olympic Blvd., Walnut Creek 94596	(415) 934-4558	445-6083
Nimmo, Robert	R	17	Monterey, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, Santa Cruz	1011 Pacific St., San Luis Obispo 93401	(805) 544-2274	445-5843
Petris, Nicholas C.	D	9	Alameda, Contra Costa	1111 Jackson St., Oakland 94607	(415) 464-1333	445-6577
Presley, Robert B.	D	34	Riverside, San Bernardino	3610 Central Ave., Riverside 92506	(714) 781-4111	445-9781
Rains, Omer L.	D	18	Santa Barbara, Ventura	501 Poli St., Ventura 93001	(805) 648-5121	445-5405
Richardson, H. L.	R	25	Los Angeles	735 W. Duarte Rd., Arcadia 91006	(213) 445-4404	445-3688
Robbins, Alan	D	20	Los Angeles	6320 Van Nuys Blvd., Van Nuys 91401	(213) 988-5894	445-3121
Roberti, David A.	D	23	Los Angeles	6640 Sunset Blvd., Hollywood 90028	(213) 464-1178	445-8390
Rodda, Albert S.	D	3	Sacramento	5052 State Capitol, Sacramento 95814	(916) 445-5788	445-5788
Russell, Newton R.	R	21	Los Angeles	815 S. Central Ave., Glendale 91204	(213) 247-7021	445-5976
Sieroty, Alan	D	22	Los Angeles	11340 W. Olympic Blvd., Los Angeles 90064	(213) 479-4244	445-7928
Smith, Jerry	D	12	Santa Clara	2185 The Alameda, San Jose 95126	(408) 984-7290	445-3104
Song, Alfred H.	D	26	Los Angeles	2337 S. Garfield Ave., Monterey Park 91754	(213) 724-3825	445-3386
Stiern, Walter W.	D	16	Inyo, Kern, Los Angeles, San Bernardino	315 Truxtun Ave., Bakersfield 93301	(805) 323-7594	445-6637
Stull, John	R	38	Imperial, Riverside, San Diego	220 W. 2nd Ave., Escondido 92025	(714) 743-8338	445-3731
Vuich, Rose Ann	D	15	Fresno, Kern, Kings, Tulare	Raisin Square, Dinuba 93618	(209) 591-5005	445-4641
Wilson, Bob	D	39	San Diego	2165 San Diego Ave., San Diego 92110	(714) 236-7139	445-3952
Zenovich, George N.	D	14	Fresno, Madera, Mariposa, Merced, Stanislaus	1060 Fulton Mall, Fresno 93721	(209) 485-6260	445-9600

*During session, mail for senators may be addressed to the State Capitol, Sacramento 95814.

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Assembly

Name	Party	District	Counties	Main District Offices*	Telephone Numbers (District)	(Capitol)
Agnos, Ar	D	16	San Francisco	350 McAllister St., San Francisco 94102	(415) 557-2253	445-8253
Alatorre, F chard	D	55	Los Angeles (East Los Angeles)	6801 N. Figueroa St., Los Angeles 90042	(213) 255-7111	445-7587
Antonovich, Mi e	R	41	Los Angeles (Burbank, Glendale)	512 E. Wilson Ave., Glendale 91206	(213) 240-6330	445-8364
Arnett, Dix on	R	20	San Mateo (southern)	680 Warren St., Redwood City 94063	(415) 364-0260	445-8188
Bane, Tom	D	40	Los Angeles (N. Hollywood, Van Nuys, Reseda)	5430 Van Nuys Blvd., Van Nuys 91401	(213) 986-8090	445-3134
Bannai, Pa il T.	R	53	Los Angeles (Hawthorne, Gardena)	1919 W. Redondo Beach Blvd., Gardena 90247	(213) 327-5920	445-0965
Bates, Tom	D	12	Alameda, Contra Costa	3923 Grand Ave., Oakland 94614	(415) 464-0786	445-7554
Berman, H ward	D	43	Los Angeles, (Beverly Hills, Westwood)	520 S. Sepulveda Blvd., Los Angeles 90049	(213) 476-7646	445-4956
Boatwright, Dar el	D	10	Contra Costa (eastern)	1035 Detroit Ave., Concord 94518	(415) 689-1973	445-8528
Brown, Wil ie L. Jr.	D	17	San Francisco	540 Van Ness Ave., San Francisco 94102	(415) 557-0784	445-8077
Calvo, Victo r	D	21	Santa Clara (northwestern)	2570 El Camino Real West, Mountain View 94040	(415) 941-4640	445-7632
Chacon, Pe er R	D	79	San Diego (City of San Diego, Coronado)	5106 Federal Blvd., San Diego 92105	(714) 263-2148	445-7610
Chappie, Et gene	R	3	Colusa, Sutter, Yuba, Sierra Nevada, Placer, half of Butte	459 Pelora, Yuba City 95991	(916) 673-2201	445-7298
Chel, Fred	D	58	Los Angeles (Long Beach)	2750 Bellflower Blvd., Long Beach 90815	(213) 420-2471	445-8492
Chimbole, L arry	D	34	Inyo, parts of Kern, Los Angeles, San Bernardino	813 West Avenue J, Lancaster 93534	(805) 273-2374	445-3266
Cline, Robe t C.	R	37	Los Angeles (San Fernando Valley), part of Ventura	19240 Nordhoff St., Northridge 91324	(213) 349-3333	445-7676
Collier, John L. i	R	61	Los Angeles (San Gabriel, Arcadia)	501 S. First Ave., Arcadia 91006	(213) 446-6158	445-7234
Cordova, R nald	D	74	Orange (coastal)	23861 El Toro Rd., El Toro 92630	(714) 830-7474	445-7222
Craven, Will am	R	76	San Diego (La Jolla, Del Mar)	550 W. Vista Way, Vista 92083	(714) 726-7676	445-2390
Cullen, Mike	D	57	Los Angeles (Long Beach)	444 W. Ocean Blvd., Long Beach 90802	(213) 435-4404	445-7454
Dannemeyer Wi liam E.	R	69	Orange	1275 N. Harbor Blvd., Fullerton 92632	(714) 992-0141	445-7448
Deddeh, Wa lie F	D	80	San Diego (National City, Chula Vista)	815 3rd Ave., Chula Vista 92011	(714) 427-7087	445-7556
Dixon, Julia	D	49	Los Angeles (Culver City)	2907 W. Vernon Ave., Los Angeles 90008	(213) 295-4226	445-8800
Duffy, Gord n	R	32	Kings, most of Tulare, part of Kern	321 N. Douty, Hanford 93230	(209) 582-4431	445-2931
Egeland, Lec ia H	D	24	San Benito, Santa Clara (rural)	3535 Ross Ave., San Jose 95124	(408) 269-6500	445-8243
Ellis, Jim	R	77	San Diego	8643 Navajo Rd., San Diego 92119	(714) 464-7204	445-6161
Fazio, Vic	D	4	Yolo, parts of Solano and Sacramento	1000 Webster St., Fairfield 94533	(707) 429-2383	445-8368
Fenton, Jack R.	D	59	Los Angeles (Alhambra, Monterey Park)	1601 W. Beverly Blvd., Montebello 90640	(213) 724-3400	445-0854
Gage, Mike	D	8	Napa, Solano, Sonoma	920 College Ave., Santa Rosa 95404	(707) 542-4433	445-8102
Goggin, Terr	D	66	San Bernardino (urban)	515 N. Arrowhead Ave., San Bernardino 92401	(714) 884-1241	445-4843
Greene, Lero F.	D	6	Sacramento	5738 Marconi Ave., Carmichael 95608	(916) 481-6540	445-7807
Gualco, Euge ne T	D	5	Sacramento	State Capitol, Sacramento 95814	(916) 445-4445	445-4445
Hallett, Carol	R	29	Monterey, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara	1145 Marsh St., San Luis Obispo 93401	(805) 549-3381	445-7795
Hart, Gary	D	35	Most of Santa Barbara	1129-B State St., Santa Barbara 93101	(805) 966-1766	445-8292
Hayden, Rich rd D.	R	22	Santa Clara (southern)	21060 Homestead Road, Cupertino 95014	(408) 446-4114	445-8305
Hughes, Tere a P.	D	47	Los Angeles (Huntington Park)	3253 S. Hoover Ave., Los Angeles 90017	(213) 747-7451	445-7498
Imbrecht, Ch rles	R	36	Ventura	3920 E. Main St., Ventura 93003	(805) 644-5528	445-7402
Ingalls, Walte	D	68	Riverside (urban)	3610 Central Ave., Riverside 92506	(714) 781-3222	445-1720
Kapiloff, Lawr nce	D	78	San Diego (Mission Hills, Linda Vista)	967 Hornblend, San Diego 92109	(714) 270-5500	445-7210
Keene, Barry	D	2	Del Norte, Humboldt, Mendocino, Lake, Sonoma (northern)	533 G St., Eureka 95501	(707) 443-4816	445-8360
Keysor, Jim	D	39	Los Angeles (eastern San Fernando Valley)	309 S. Maclay Ave., San Fernando 91341	(213) 361-1233	445-8430

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Assembly (continued)

Name	Party	District	Counties	Main District Address*	Telephone Numbers (District)	(Capitol)
Knox, John T.	D	11	Contra Costa (western)	3607 Macdonald Ave., Richmond 94805	(415) 237-8171	445-7890
Lancaster, William	R	62	Los Angeles (Covina, Claremont)	372 E. Rowland St., Covina 91723	(213) 332-6271	445-9234
Lanterman, Frank	R	42	Los Angeles (Pasadena, Glendale)	106-A S. Los Robles, Pasadena 91101	(213) 449-4747	445-8211
Lehman, Richard	D	31	Fresno, Tulare	96 Shaw, Clovis 93612	(209) 398-6571	445-8514
Levine, Mel	D	44	Los Angeles (Beverly Hills)	9581 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles 90035	(213) 277-5228	445-1676
Lewis, Jerry	R	67	San Bernardino, Riverside (rural)	101 S. 6th St., Redlands 92373	(714) 886-5201	445-7552
Lockyer, Bill	D	14	Alameda (central)	14895 E. 14th St., San Leandro 94578	(415) 464-0847	445-8160
Maddy, Kenneth L.	R	30	Madera, Mariposa, part of Fresno	1221 Van Ness Ave., Fresno 93721	(209) 485-5122	445-7558
Mangers, Dennis	D	73	Orange	16371 Beach Blvd., Huntington Beach 92647	(714) 848-1168	445-8377
McAlister, Alister	D	25	Santa Clara (northeastern), part of Alameda	1595 E. Santa Clara St., San Jose 95116	(408) 272-0221	445-7874
McCarthy, Leo T.	D	18	San Francisco, part of San Mateo	350 McAllister St., San Francisco 94102	(415) 557-2662	445-8994
McVittie, Bill	D	65	Los Angeles (Pomona) and San Bernardino (Ontario)	12530 10th St., Chino 91710	(714) 627-3529	445-8490
Mello, Henry J.	D	28	Monterey, Santa Cruz	1200 Aguajito, Monterey 93940	(408) 373-0773	445-8496
Miller, John J.	D	13	Alameda (northwestern)	5801 Christie St., Emeryville 94608	(415) 653-2424	445-7442
Montoya, Joe	D	60	Los Angeles (El Monte, La Puente)	3617 Monterey Ave., El Monte 91731	(213) 446-6125	445-7783
Mori, S. Floyd	D	15	Alameda (southern, eastern)	22300 Foothill Blvd., Hayward 94541	(415) 538-5533	445-7380
Nestande, Bruce	R	70	Orange (City of Orange, Tustin)	920 Town & Country Rd., Orange 92668	(714) 542-4775	445-2778
Papan, Louis J.	D	19	San Mateo (northern)	343-E Serramonte Plaza, Daly City 94015	(415) 756-6400	445-8020
Perino, Carmen	D	26	Parts of San Joaquin and Stanislaus	31 E. Channel St., Stockton 95202	(209) 948-7479	445-7931
Priolo, Paul	R	38	Los Angeles (Malibu Coast), part of Ventura	4883 Topanga Canyon Blvd., Woodland Hills 91364	(213) 883-8400	445-8366
Robinson, Richard	D	72	Orange (Santa Ana, Garden Grove)	12311 Chapman Ave., Garden Grove 92640	(714) 530-7200	445-7333
Roos, Mike	D	46	Los Angeles (Wilshire, Silver Lake)	600 S. New Hampshire, Los Angeles 90005	(213) 386-8042	445-7644
Rosenthal, Herschel	D	45	Los Angeles (Fairfax, Studio City)	8425 W. 3rd St., Los Angeles 90048	(213) 655-9750	445-7440
Ryan, Marilyn	R	51	Los Angeles (coastal)	1815 Via El Prado, Redondo Beach 90277	(213) 540-8182	445-2112
Statham, Stan	R	1	Butte, Glenn, Lassen, Modoc, Plumas, Shasta, Siskiyou, Tehama, Trinity	774 East Ave., Chico 95927	(916) 895-1500	445-7266
Stirling, Dave	R	64	Los Angeles	13601 East Whittier Blvd., Whittier 90605	(213) 945-1524	445-7550
Suitt, Tom	D	75	Imperial, desert parts of Riverside, San Diego	113 S. Indian Ave., Palm Springs 92262	(714) 325-1139	445-7852
Thomas, Vincent	D	52	Los Angeles (San Pedro)	700 S. Grand Ave., San Pedro 90731	(213) 832-7234	445-7906
Thomas, William M.	R	33	Most of Kern	2025 18th St., Bakersfield 93301	(805) 323-3146	445-8498
Thurman, John E.	D	27	Most of Stanislaus and Merced	930 15th St., Modesto 95354	(209) 521-1111	445-8570
Torres, Art	D	56	Los Angeles (downtown, City of Commerce)	5261 E. Beverly Blvd., Los Angeles 90022	(213) 728-8882	445-1670
Tucker, Curtis R.	D	50	Los Angeles (Inglewood, Westchester)	1 Manchester Blvd., Inglewood 90306	(213) 677-1188	445-7533
Vasconcellos, John	D	23	Santa Clara (urban)	2435 Forest Ave., San Jose 95128	(408) 241-6900	445-4253
Vicencia, Frank	D	54	Los Angeles (Compton)	8040 E. Alondra Blvd., Paramount 90723	(213) 531-0265	445-7486
Waters, Maxine	D	48	Los Angeles	7900 S. Central Ave., Los Angeles 90001	(213) 582-7371	445-2363
Waters, Norman	D	7	Alpine, Amador, Calaveras, El Dorado, Mono, Sacramento, San Joaquin, Tuolumne	218 W. Pine St., Lodi 95240	(209) 334-0568	445-8343
Wornum, Michael	D	9	Marin, part of Sonoma	30 N. San Pedro Rd., San Rafael 94901	(415) 479-4920	445-7827
Wray, Chester B.	D	71	Orange	12062 Valley View, Garden Grove 92645	(714) 898-7844	445-6233
Young, Bruce E.	D	63	Los Angeles	12440 E. Firestone Blvd., Norwalk 90650	(213) 868-0561	445-6047

*During legislative session, mail for assemblymen may be addressed to the State Capitol, Sacramento 95814.

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Leo McCarthy

Legislative leadership

Assembly

Speaker Leo McCarthy (D)
Speaker pro Tempore John Knox (D)
Majority Floor Leader Howard Berman (D)
Minority Floor Leader Paul Priolo (R)
Democratic Caucus Chairman Julian Dixon
Republican Caucus Chairman Eugene Chappie

Senate

President of the Senate Lt. Governor Mervyn Dymally (D)
President pro Tempore James Mills (D)
Majority Floor Leader David Roberti (D)
Minority Floor Leader George Deukmejian (R)
Democratic Caucus Chairman Omer Rains
Republican Caucus Chairman Dennis Carpenter

James Mills

Senate standing committees

Rules (3D, 2R):
Chairman Mills (D); Vice Chairman Stull (R); Campbell (R); Petris (D); Smith (D).
Executive officer John Williamson, 445-4311.

Agriculture and Water Resources (3D, 3R):
Chairman Ayala (D); Vice Chairman Nimmo (R); Garamendi (D); Garcia (D); Johnson (R); Presley (D); Stiern (D); Stull (R); Vuich (D).
Consultant, Steve Nicola, 445-2206.

Business and Professions (6D, 3R):
Chairman Garcia (D); Vice Chairman Roberti (D); Briggs (R); Deukmejian (R); Greene (D); Marks (R); Presley (D); Song (D); Wilson (D).
Consultant, Jim Cathcart, 445-3435.

Education (7D, 4R)
Chairman Dunlap (D); Vice Chairman Campbell (R); Alquist (D); Behr (R); Cusanovich (R); Dills (D); Gregorio (D); Rodda (D); Smith (D); Stiern (D); Stull (R).
Consultant, James Browne, 445-2522.

Elections and Reapportionment (4D, 3R):
Chairman Holden (D); Vice Chairman Paul Carpenter (D); Briggs (R); Nimmo (R); Rains (D); Richardson (R); Roberti (D).
Consultant, Jim Browning, 445-2601.

Finance (8D, 5R):
Chairman Rodda (D); Vice Chairman Cusanovich (R); Alquist (D); Behr (R); Dennis Carpenter (R); Greene (D); Gregorio (D); Holmdahl (D); Nejedly (R); Petris (D); Smith (D); Stiern (D); Stull (R).
Consultant, Gerald Hayward, 445-5202.

Governmental Organization (6D 4R):
Chairman Dills (D); Vice Chairman Greene (D); Beverly (R); Campbell (R); Deukmejian (R); Dunlap (D); Foran (D); Gregorio (D); Marks (R); Zenovich (D); Vacancy.
Consultant, Lindsay W. Miller, 445-1193.

Health and Welfare (6D, 3R):
Chairman Gregorio (D); Vice Chairman Garamendi (D); Campbell (R); Paul Carpenter (D); Garcia (D); Holden (D); Marks (R); Nejedly (R); Presley (D).
Consultant, Roger King, 445-5965.

Industrial Relations (4D, 3R):
Chairman Greene (D); Vice Chairman Johnson (R); Dennis Carpenter (R); Mills (D); Robbins (D); Russell (R); Sieroty (D).
Consultant, Casey Young, 445-1237.

Insurance and Financial Institutions (5D, 4R):
Chairman Behr (R); Vice Chairman Briggs (R); Beverly (R); Dennis Carpenter (R); Foran (D); Robbins (D); Vuich (D); Wilson (D); Zenovich (D).
Consultant, Terry Miller, 445-6306.

Judiciary (6D, 3R):
Chairman Song (D); Vice Chairman Deukmejian (R); Beverly (R); Dennis Carpenter (R); Robbins (D); Roberti (D); Sieroty (D); Wilson (D); Zenovich (D).
Consultant, Richard Thomson, 445-5957.

Local Government (4D, 3R):
Chairman Marks (R); Vice Chairman Robbins (D); Ayala (D); Beverly (R); Holden (D); Nimmo (R); Vuich (D).
Consultant, Fred Silva, 445-9748.

Natural Resources and Wildlife (6D, 3R):
Chairman Nejedly (R); Vice Chairman Smith (D); Ayala (D); Behr (R); Dills (D); Dunlap (D); Garamendi (D); Richardson (R); Rodda (D).
Consultant, Robert Testa, 445-5441.

Public Employment and Retirement (3D, 2R):
Chairman Russell (R); Vice Chairman Wilson (D); Paul Carpenter (D); Johnson (R); Sieroty (D).
Consultant, Robert Bissonnette, 445-8958.

Public Utilities, Transit and Energy (6D, 3R):
Chairman Alquist (D); Vice Chairman Holden (D); Cusanovich (R); Dills (D); Foran (D); Garamendi (D); Nejedly (R); Rains (D); Russell (R).
Consultant, Timothy Davis, 445-9765.

Revenue and Taxation (6D, 3R):
Chairman Holmdahl (D); Vice Chairman Petris (D); Ayala (D); Deukmejian (R); Dunlap (D); Nimmo (R); Richardson (R); Roberti (D); Sieroty (D).
Consultant, Vance Hanson, 445-3808.

Transportation (7D, 2R):
Chairman Presley (D); Vice Chairman Foran (D); Alquist (D); Briggs (R); Garcia (D); Holmdahl (D); Johnson (R); Rains (D); Vuich (D).
Consultant, Mehdi Morshed, 445-3182.

Senate committee schedule

Monday	Room	
Finance	4203	1:30 p.m.
Local government	5007	1:30 p.m.
Public employment and retirement	2040	1:30 p.m.*
Tuesday		
Governmental organization	5007	9:30 a.m.
Agriculture and water resources	3191	9:30 a.m.*
Judiciary	4203	1:30 p.m.
Rules	5007	1:30 p.m.*
Public utilities, transit and energy	2040	1:30 p.m.*
Natural resources and wildlife	3191	1:30 p.m.**
Transportation	2040	1:30 p.m.**
Wednesday		
Education	4203	9:30 a.m.
Business and professions	3191	9:30 a.m.**
Elections and reapportionment	2040	9:30 a.m.*
Health and welfare	3191	1:30 p.m.
Revenue and taxation	5007	1:30 p.m.
Industrial relations	2040	9:30 a.m.*
Insurance and financial institutions	2040	1:30 p.m.**

Committees meet every week unless indicated otherwise.
*Meets 1st and 3rd weeks of month.
**Meets 2nd and 4th weeks of month.

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Assembly standing committees

Agriculture (7D, 4R)
Chairman Thurman (D); Vice Chairman Lehman (D); Chappie (R); Duffy (R); Egeland (D); Hallett (R); Keene (D); McVittie (D); Suitt (D); William Thomas (R); Norman Waters (D).
Consultant, George Soares, 445-1918.

Criminal Justice (6D, 3R):
Chairman Maddy (R); Vice Chairman Goggin (D); Alatorre (D), Bannai (R); Dixon (D); Knox (D); Levine (D); Nestande (R); Roos (D).
Consultant, Michael Ullman, 455-3268.

Education (11D, 4R):
Chairman Greene (D); Vice Chairman Arnett (R); Antonovich (R); Collier (R); Craven (R); Egeland (D); Hart (D); Hughes (D); Keysor (D); Mangers (D); Montoya (D); Mori (D); Suitt (D); Vasconcellos (D); Young (D).
Consultant, James Murdoch, 445-7807.

Elections and Reapportionment (6D, 3R):
Chairman Keysor (D); Vice Chairman Gage (D); Cordova (D); Dannemeyer (R); Fazio (D); Lehman (D); Priolo (R); William Thomas (R); Maxine Waters (D).
Consultants, Bruce Bolinger, Roger Bollinger, 445-8430.

Finance, Insurance and Commerce (11D, 4R):
Chairman McAlister (D); Vice Chairman Young (D); Agnos (D); Bane (D); Bannai (R); Calvo (D); Greene (D); Gualco (D); Hayden (R); Ingalls (D); Lancaster (R); Miller (D); Nestande (R); Papan (D); Robinson (D).
Consultants, Carl Brakensiek, Steve Spellman, Richard Mason, 445-9160.

Governmental Organization (6D, 3R):
Chairman Vicencia (D); Vice Chairman Alatorre (D); Chimbole (D); Cline (R); Cullen (D); Greene (D); Lehman (D); Maddy (R); Statham (R).
Consultant, Parke Terry, 445-7486.

Health (9D, 2R):
Chairman Keene (D); Vice Chairman Mangers (D); Agnos (D); Bates (D); Duffy (R); Egeland (D); Hart (D); Lanterman (R); Rosenthal (D); Torres (D); Tucker (D).
Consultant, Paul Press, 445-1770.

Housing and Community Development (5D, 2R):
Chairman Chacon (D); Vice Chairman Hughes (D); Imbrecht (R); Mangers (D); Roos (D); Statham (R); Wray (D).
Consultant, Renée Franken, 445-7610.

Human Resources (5D, 2R):
Chairman Nestande (R); Vice Chairwoman Maxine Waters (D); Arnett (R); Chacon (D); Lockyer (D); Vincent Thomas (D); Rosenthal (D).
Consultant, John McCoy, 445-0664.

Judiciary (8D, 3R):
Chairman Miller (D); Vice Chairman Cordova (D); Chel (D); Fazio (D); Fenton (D); Imbrecht (R); Ingalls (D); McVittie (D); Stirling (R); Torres (D); Maxine Waters (D).
Consultant, Tom Carroll, 445-4560.

Labor, Employment and Consumer Affairs (10D, 3R):
Chairman Lockyer (D); Agnos (D); Alatorre (D); Cullen (D); Dannemeyer (R); Ellis (R); Fenton (D); Gage (D); McAlister (D); Miller (D); Stirling (R); Vincent Thomas (D); Young (D).
Consultant, Britton McFetridge, 445-2657.

Local Government (8D, 5R):
Chairman Craven (R); Vice Chairman Norman Waters (D); Chimbole (D); Cullen (D); Ellis (R); Lancaster (R); Mello (D); Perino (D); Priolo (R); Ryan (R); Thurman (D); Tucker (D); Maxine Waters (D).
Consultant, Julie Nauman, 445-6034.

Public Employees and Retirement (6D, 3R):
Chairman Deddeh (D); Vice Chairman Tucker (D); Bannai (R); Chacon (D); Craven (R); Fenton (D); Hallett (R); Perino (D); Norman Waters (D).
Consultants, Dave Cox, Gil Oster, 445-4320.

Resources, Land Use and Energy (11D, 4R):
Chairman Calvo (D); Vice Chairman Bates (D); Dannemeyer (R); Ellis (R); Goggin (D); Gualco (D); Hayden (R); Kapiloff (D); Keene (D); Levine (D); Mello (D); Rosenthal (D); Ryan (R); Wornum (D); Wray (D).
Consultant, Tom Willoughby, 445-9367.

Revenue and Taxation (11D, 4R):
Chairman Brown (D); Vice Chairman Mello (D); Chel (D); Cordova (D); Deddeh (D); Fazio (D); Gage (D); Imbrecht (R); Kapiloff (D); Lewis (R); Lockyer (D); Mori (D); Ryan (R); Stirling (R); Vicencia (D).
Consultant, David Doerr, 322-3730.

Rules (4D, 3R):
Chairman Papan (D); Vice Chairman Lewis (R); Chimbole (D); Lancaster (R); Montoya (D); Rosenthal (D); William Thomas (R).
Chief administrative officer, Fred Taugher, 455-2995.

Transportation (11D, 4R):
Chairman Ingalls (D); Vice Chairman Wray (D); Antonovich (R); Bane (D); Bates (D); Brown (D); Calvo (D); Chel (D); Collier (R); Deddeh (D); Hallett (R); Lanterman (R); Montoya (D); Vicencia (D); Wornum (D).
Consultant, D. J. Smith, 445-7278.

Water, Parks and Wildlife (5D, 2R):
Chairman Gualco (D); Vice Chairman Kapiloff (D); Berman (D); Boatwright (D); Cline (R); Perino (D); Statham (D).
Consultant, Clyde Macdonald, 445-6164.

Ways and Means (15D, 6R):
Chairman Boatwright (D); Vice Chairman Lanterman (R); Arnett (R); Berman (D); Chappie (R); Dixon (D); Duffy (R); Fazio (D); Goggin (D); Hart (D); Hayden (R); Hughes (D); Knox (D); Lewis (R); McVittie (D); Mori (D); Robinson (D); Suitt (D); Torres (D); Vasconcellos (D); Wornum (D).
Consultant, Krist Lane, 445-7082.

Assembly committee schedule

	Room	
Monday		
Criminal justice	2117	1:30 p.m.
Health	2133	1:30 p.m.
Revenue and taxation	4202	1:30 p.m.
Rules	A107	4:30 p.m.
Tuesday		
Ways and Means	4202	8:00 a.m.
Governmental organization	6031	9:30 a.m.**
Public employees and retirement	2117	9:30 a.m.*
Human resources	2133	1:30 p.m.**
Local government	2133	1:30 p.m.*
Transportation	2170	1:30 p.m.
Water, parks and wildlife	2117	1:30 p.m.**
Wednesday		
Ways and means	4202	8:00 a.m.
Labor, employment and consumer affairs	2170	9:00 a.m.
Finance, insurance and commerce	4202	1:30 p.m.
Agriculture	2170	3:30 p.m.*
Elections and reapportionment	6028	3:30 p.m.**
Housing and community development	2133	3:30 p.m.**
Thursday		
Education	4202	9:00 a.m.
Judiciary	6031	9:00 a.m.
Resources, land use and energy	2170	9:00 a.m.

Committees meet every week except as indicated.
*Meets 1st and 3rd weeks of month.
**Meets 2nd and 4th weeks of month.

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Keeping track of legislation

Keeping track of the thousands of bills that are introduced in the Senate and Assembly every year is a difficult job, even for well-staffed professional lobbies. To do so, they rely heavily on six official legislative guides that are published daily during the session: the Assembly and Senate *Daily Files, Journals,* and *Histories.* Single copies of these publications are available free (as are single copies of bills) from the Legislative Bill Room. Also available there, at nominal cost, is a useful and concise reference, *California's Legislature,* by James D. Driscoll, Chief Clerk of the Assembly, from which the following descriptions of the legislative publications are drawn:

Daily Files. The *Daily File* for each house is an agenda of the day's business. It lists all measures to be taken up on the floor in the order in which they are to be dealt with, and it also lists all committee hearings and the bills scheduled for hearing before each committee. Under the provisions of the Assembly rules, notice of all bills set for hearing by any committee or subcommittee must be published in the *Daily File* for three consecutive days prior to the hearing, unless there is a special waiver. The Senate rules now also require the calendar for regular committee meetings to be printed in the *Daily File* and at least two days in advance of the meeting. In addition, the *Daily File* provides an up-to-date list of the membership of all standing committees of each house.

The Daily Journals. The *Daily Journal* of each house contains a "true and correct" account of that chamber's proceedings of the preceding day. This includes the titles of all measures introduced, considered or acted upon by each house, the texts of amendments to these measures and of house resolutions, roll calls, messages from the governor and the other house, committee reports, motions, and acknowledgment of any communications. Senate committee votes are recorded and published in the Senate *Journal,* but the Assembly reports its committee votes in a separate appendix to the Assembly *Journal.*

The History. Each chamber's *History* shows the action taken on all measures on the file for action that day (except for measures passed on file) and all committee actions on bills. A *Weekly History,* published at the end of the week, summarizes the daily accounts and contains the titles of all measures introduced up to the end of that week, and the committees to which they were assigned, along with any action taken on them and the date on which it was taken. The *Weekly History* also carries the names of each house's membership, committee assignments and the schedule of meetings.

Legislative Index. At intervals during the session, a *Legislative Index* is published, listing by subject all bills introduced in the Legislature. It also contains a table showing which sections of the Constitution and statutes are affected by the measures introduced.

Other publications

Once the Legislature adjourns, the *Daily Journals* are corrected, reprinted, and deposited with the secretary of state as a permanent record of each day's proceedings. Each house also publishes a *Final History,* summarizing all legislation introduced and acted upon during the session. This history is indexed and shows which sections of law are affected by the legislation enacted, and whether the changes involved deletions, additions, removals, or renumbering.

Other key legislative bodies

Joint Legislative Audit Committee
Assemblyman Mike Cullen (D), chairman. Auditor General, John H. Williams, 925 L St., Suite 750, Sacramento 95814; (916) 445-0255.

Legislative Analyst
William G. Hamm, 925 L St., Suite 650, Sacramento 95814; (916) 445-4656.

Legislative Counsel
Bion Gregory, 3021 State Capitol; (916) 445-2781; 107 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 90012; (213) 620-2550.

USEFUL CAPITOL NUMBERS (Area Code 916)

Information	445-4711
Secretary of Senate	445-4251
Chief Clerk of Assembly	445-3614
Bill Room	445-2323
Senate Files	445-1727
Assembly Research	445-9098
Archives	445-4293
Auditor General	445-0255
Legislative Analyst	445-4656
Legislative Counsel	445-2781
State Police	445-2895

Types of legislation

- **Bills** propose changes in or additions to state law. Depending upon the house of origin, they are referred to as Assembly Bills or Senate Bills, followed by a number (for example, AB 13, SB 152).
- **Constitutional Amendments,** also called "bills", actually are resolutions proposing constitutional changes to the electorate. They require a two-thirds majority in each house to qualify for the ballot. They are referred to as SCAs or ACAs.
- **Concurrent Resolutions** are used to adopt joint rules, create joint legislative committees, express legislative intent, and commend individuals for public service. They are referred to as ACRs or SCRs.
- **Joint Resolutions** express legislative opinion on matters pertaining to the federal government, and usually urge passage or defeat of legislation pending before Congress. They are referred to as SJRs or AJRs.
- **House and Senate Resolutions** express the sentiment of one house of the Legislature. They usually ask a committee to study a specific problem, create interim committees, or amend house rules. Their texts are published in the house *Journal,* and they take effect on their adoption.

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Legislative Process

IDEA

Sources of bills: legislators, legislative committees, governor, state and local governmental agencies, business firms, lobbyists, citizens.

DRAFTING

Formal copy of bill and "layman's digest" prepared by Legislative Counsel.

INTRODUCTION

Bill submitted by senator or assemblyman. Numbered and read for first time. Assigned to committee by Assembly speaker or Senate Rules Committee. Printed.

COMMITTEE

Testimony taken from author, proponents and opponents. Typical actions: Do pass; amend and do pass; no action; hold in committee (kill); amend and rerefer to same committee; refer to another committee; send to interim study.

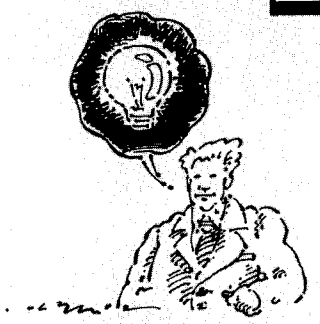
Appropriation bills, if approved by policy committee, are referred to Finance Committee in the Senate and Ways and Means Committee in the Assembly.

SECOND READING

Bills given do-pass recommendations are read a second time and placed on file for debate.

FLOOR DEBATE AND VOTE

Bills are read a third time and debated. A roll-call vote follows. For ordinary bills, 21 votes are needed in the Senate and 41 in the Assembly to pass a measure. For urgency bills and appropriation measures, 27 and 54 votes are required. If these numbers are not reached, the bill is defeated. Any member may seek reconsideration and a second vote. If passed or passed with amendments, the bill is sent to the second house.



SECOND HOUSE

Bill is read for the first time and referred to committee by the Assembly speaker or Senate Rules Committee.

COMMITTEE

Procedures and possible actions are identical to those in the first house.

SECOND READING

If cleared by committee, the bill is read a second time and placed on the daily file (agenda) for debate and vote.

FLOOR DEBATE AND VOTE

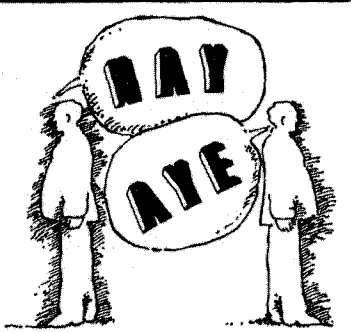
The procedure is identical to the first house. If a bill is passed without having been amended in the second house, it is sent to the governor's desk. (Resolutions are sent to the secretary of state's office.) If amended in the second house and passed, the measure returns to the house of origin for consideration of amendments.

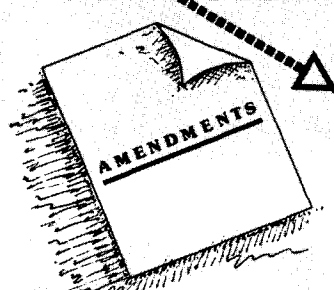
CONCURRENCE

The house of origin decides whether to accept the second-house amendments. If the amendments are approved, the bill is sent to the governor. If the amendments are rejected, the bill is placed in the hands of a two-house conference committee composed of three senators and three Assembly members.

CONFERENCE

If the conferees fail to present a report, the bill dies. If the conferees present a recommendation for compromise, both houses vote on the report. If the report is adopted by both, the bill goes to the governor. If either house rejects the report, a second (and even a third) conference committee can be formed.





GOVERNOR

Within 12 days after receiving a bill, the governor can sign it into law, allow it to become law without his signature, or veto it. A vetoed bill returns to the house of origin for possible vote on overriding the veto. It requires a two-thirds majority of both houses to override.

Urgency measures become effective immediately after signing. Others usually take effect the following January 1st.

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When housing is tight, are rent controls necessary?

By Laura Benson Mitchell

"We want rent control! We want rent control!"

The packed chambers of the Los Angeles City Council rang with the shouts of angry, frustrated tenants — most of them elderly — who had come to hear the council's governmental efficiency committee discuss Councilman Joel Wachs' suggestions for dealing with the city's rental housing crunch. Wachs' major proposal: a form of rent regulation designed to curb what he called rent "gouging."

But the committee's reception to the rent regulation idea was not a warm one. Wachs fell back to two other proposals — a voluntary landlord-tenant mediation board, plus special taxes to discourage speculation, which apparently has played a role in some of the recent rent increases, the biggest to hit tenants in years.

Rent control advocates don't believe these alternatives will work, however. A voluntary mediation board has no power to make its decisions stick, and speculation taxes could just be passed on to tenants in the form of additional rent increases, says Richard Cohen, spokesperson for the United Tenants Organization of Los Angeles. So, like groups in Santa Barbara, Santa Monica and some other California communities, rent control advocates in Los Angeles will attempt to impose rent control by way of the ballot, via a charter amendment petition.

With more than 115,000 valid signatures required just to get the measure on the ballot, they have an uphill fight. (A charter amendment petition hasn't qualified for the Los Angeles ballot since 1947, according to the city clerk's election division office.)

But feelings are running high, and many tenants — especially the elderly living on fixed incomes — are looking around desperately for help. They find little solace in the argument, accepted generally by both supporters and opponents of rent control, that the problem is one of inadequate supply. It may be true that their problems will ease in a few years if enough new rental units are built. But how, they wonder, are they to manage until then?

Both sides in the rent control controversy acknowledge that severe problems exist for tenants on low or fixed incomes, and that the rental housing supply must be expanded. But they differ on whether rent control is a good short-run solution.

In brief, rent control advocates say some landlords are taking unfair advantage of their power over tenants in the current market and are jacking up rents as far as possible regardless of the landlords' costs or any reasonable standard for a fair return. Housing is a necessity, they say, with no cheaper substitutes available in a tight housing market. Tenants thus need to be protected against "gouging" by greedy landlords while the market has a chance to loosen up.

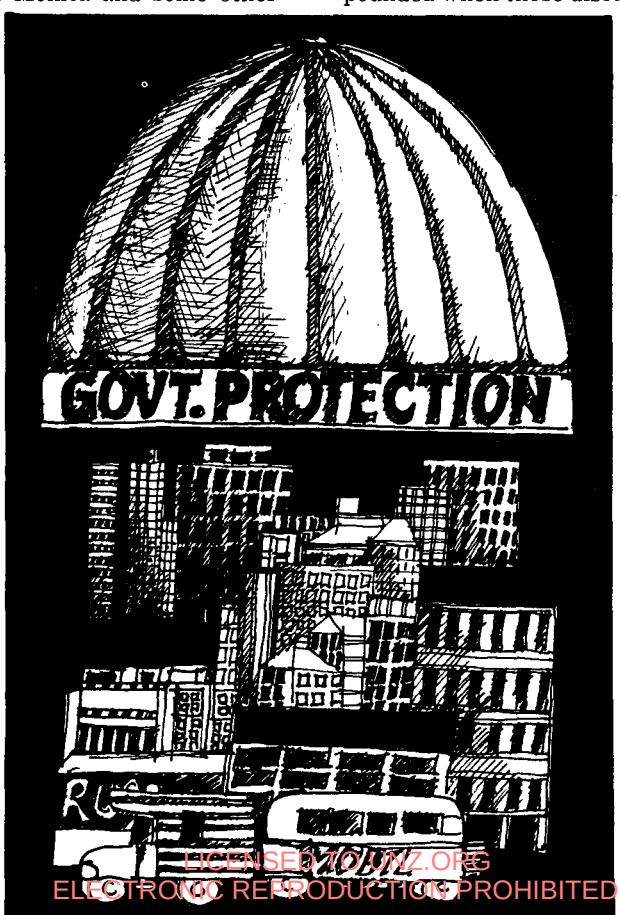
Opponents of rent control answer that "temporary" rent controls have a way of becoming permanent. Furthermore, they argue, rent controls tend to interfere with the market's natural tendency to right itself, because controls discourage the very expansion of supply that is needed to provide a long-run solution.

Compounding confusion

Emotion often clouds the issue and confusion is compounded when those discussing the issue often mean different things by "rent control."

The most extreme form is a freeze, such as that imposed by the Nixon Administration in 1971 as part of a general 90-day hold on all prices, wages and rents. "Second-generation rent controls" are a milder form in which rents are allowed to rise in accordance with some guideline. The less restrictive of these milder versions typically exempt new construction; allow landlords to increase rents up to a certain percentage (often the percentage change in the Consumer Price Index) each year; permit additional rent increases when certain costs (for such items as property taxes, energy capital improvements) rise; and provide for hardship increases if a landlord can show he is still unable to make a reasonable profit. These moderate controls are also likely to exempt small (less than five units) owner-occupied buildings and luxury rental units.

But there is a wide range between a freeze and a very loose



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second-generation control. Furthermore, some rent control legislation leaves the determination of allowable rent increases — and thus the degree of restrictiveness — almost entirely up to the members of the rent control board.

In the United States, New York City has had the longest continuous experience with rent control, beginning in 1943. Opponents often cite New York as an example of the dire consequences of rent control. But rent control experience there has been a patchwork of different laws, enacted by different levels of government at different times. Furthermore, many factors besides rent control have been at work in New York, so it is difficult to draw any definite conclusions about the program's real impact.

But everyone agrees that New York City has had some very restrictive controls in the past. And although strong controls keep costs below what they would otherwise be, they also induce declines in construction, maintenance and rental residential property values, as well as increased abandoment of rental housing. This decline in rental property values shifts the tax burden to owners of other types of property, including homeowners.

Also, the promise of low rents in controlled areas adds pressure on the already tight housing market, as new would-be tenants move in from nearby areas without controls. This pressure makes it harder and harder to remove controls, because taking the lid off would permit market pressures to push rents sky high. Such conditions also can lead to greater discrimination — racial and otherwise — in the selection of tenants and to black-market efforts to secure housing.

Translating good intentions

This grim picture is the one often painted by rent control opponents. But advocates are quick to point out that they are not asking for the long-term, restrictive rent controls responsible for such scenarios. They are asking instead for moderate, short-run controls to protect tenants from rent gouging while the housing market remains tight. Meanwhile, they wage other actions to increase the housing supply, particularly for those on low incomes.

"It isn't more housing or rent-gouging regulation," Councilman Wachs said at the Los Angeles hearing. "It's both. You deal with the housing shortage by a series of designed measures to stimulate the construction of housing. But that doesn't mean you can't deal with the abuses that are occurring today until you get there."

But opponents of rent control have little faith that such good intentions can be translated into equitable legislation.

"We are afraid," says apartment developer Howard Ruby, president of the anti-rent control Coalition for Housing. "We have a real fear whether our particular city's rent control bill will be fair or unfair." Furthermore, even a bill that starts out fair may be made more restrictive later because of political pressure from tenants, Ruby says.

Rent control has been a volatile issue on the federal and state levels, too. Controls have been tried during wartime and, as noted, during the Nixon Administration's "New Economic Policy" of 1971. More recently, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) has become involved in local rent control issues by preempting local controls on certain housing with mortgages held or insured by the department and for all HUD-owned projects.

In California, recent state legislation has included a proposed statewide rent control bill introduced during the 1975-76 session by Senator David Roberti. The bill would have established a uniform format for all local jurisdictions that chose to adopt rent control. It died in committee, as did an attempt to reincarnate it in the Assembly.

In 1976, then-Assemblyman William Campbell and Assemblyman Julian Dixon introduced a bill that would have prohibited localities from adopting their own rent control ordinances. The state preemption bill, AB 3788, was spon-

A TALE OF TWO STUDIES

Is rent control a blessing or a disaster? One of the most frustrating things for anyone trying to answer that question objectively is the absence of any research that is accepted by both sides as authoritative and unbiased. Rent control studies generally seem to support the point of view of those who financed or requested them. At best, the conclusions of such studies appear suspect.

Taken together, however, two of the most recent studies — both of rent control in New Jersey — may provide a glimmer of truth. In 1976, John Gilderbloom, a graduate student in urban affairs at the University of California at Santa Barbara, was asked by the California Department of Housing and Community Development to examine the effects of rent control. Gilderbloom was then working as a department intern. His initial report, prepared under extreme time pressure, was based on data gathered by others concerning rent control in several states.

He was later given the go-ahead to expand the study. He prepared a supplementary report based on additional data he gathered himself in New Jersey. More recently, he has processed his data through a computer, using special techniques to isolate the rent control factor from others affecting the rental housing market. He compared a group of 26 cities that had had what he calls "moderate" rent controls for three to four years with a group of 37 uncontrolled cities. He found no evidence of negative effects from moderate, short-run controls. (Although prepared under state auspices, Gilderbloom's study has not been issued as an official state report.)

Gruen, Gruen & Associates were hired by the anti-rent control California Housing Council in response to Gilderbloom's studies. The Gruen report warned of developing problems in New Jersey's rent-controlled cities.

Understandably, rent control advocates like to point to Gilderbloom's work, while opponents are able to counter with the Gruen report. Surprisingly, however, the Gruens and

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sored by the California Housing Council, a San Mateo-based group of apartment builders, owners and managers that has been active in the fight against rent control. (Although Dixon co-authored the preemption bill, he said he also had favored the Roberti bill.) AB 3788 led to studies by Housing and Community Development Department intern John Gilderbloom and by the San Francisco research firm of Gruen, Gruen & Associates. (See accompanying article.)

AB 3788 was approved by the Legislature but vetoed by Governor Jerry Brown. Another preemption bill, AB 933, was introduced by Assemblyman Louis Papan in 1977. When the Legislature recessed in September, the Papan bill was still in committee. Also still in committee was Terry Goggin's AB 450, which dealt with rent control specifically for mobile home parks.

The local push

Yet it is at the local level that most of the current push for regulation seems to be coming. Berkeley was the first California city to impose rent control. Adopted in 1972, the Berkeley law was declared unconstitutional in 1973 by the Alameda County Superior Court. On appeal, the California Supreme Court agreed that the law was unconstitutional, although it disagreed with the Alameda decision on several points. Unlike the lower court, the Supreme Court held that existing state law did not prohibit localities from imposing rent control. In addition, it held that the existence of an emergency was not necessary to justify use of such controls, though it also held that a housing shortage and its serious ill effects must exist before rent control may be constitutionally imposed. The key reason the court cited for overturning the Berkeley law was that the specific procedures for authorizing increases were unreasonably hard on landlords.

In the aftermath of the Supreme Court decision, Berkeley residents voted on another rent control initiative. The measure was defeated soundly in April 1977.

On a regional level, the Draft Regional Housing Element of the Southern California Association of Governments (SCAG) has recommended that SCAG write a model second-generation rent control law and encourage uniform application of rent control efforts throughout the region. Opposition to state preemption bills is also recommended. The SCAG region covers Los Angeles, Orange, Ventura, San Bernardino, Riverside and Imperial Counties.

The situation varies from community to community, but the housing squeeze that has prompted efforts for rent control in California is essentially the result of increasing demand and a relatively slow response from the supply side. The pressures now affecting the rental residential market are basically the same as those that have pushed up single-family home prices in many areas: More people are seeking places to live, and the cost of those places is increasing.

Many factors have contributed to the current dilemma. The state's population has been increasing, but not as fast as the number of households. The results can be seen in a dramatic drop in the average number of persons per household. Statewide, the average household size fell from 2.95 in 1970 to 2.73 in 1976. Some communities had even lower averages. In Santa Monica, where a rent control effort is under way, the average was only 1.97 as of April 1st, 1977.

"The housing shortage is really practically all explained by the reduction in the number of people per unit," says Wilbur McCann, economic consultant for the Real Estate Research Council of Southern California. "In Los Angeles County, a third of the housing units are occupied by one person."

The cost of homeowning

Until the past year or so, the big pressure was for single-family homes. As of September 1977, Consumer Price Index figures for the Los Angeles area showed that the cost of home ownership had risen nearly 113 percent since 1967,

Gilderbloom seem to agree on the basic facts concerning the effects of rent control:

- Both accept the conclusions of traditional literature on rent control. While highly restrictive controls, like a rent freeze, keep rent levels lower than they otherwise would be under the existing market conditions, they also tend, over time, to result in decreased maintenance, a declining level of new rental housing construction, increased abandonment and falling rental property values. This last tends to shift the local tax burden to owners of other types of property, including homeowners. Thus, long-term application of highly restrictive controls helps to perpetuate or even worsen the tight housing market that led to the establishment of such controls in the first place.
- "Moderate" (Gilderbloom's term) or "investment-neutral" (the Gruens' term) controls only limit windfall profits taken by landlords who have been reaping unearned benefits from a tight housing market. Such controls are not designed to grant across-the-board rent relief. Typically, they permit modest general rent increases plus additional hikes in the face of certain increased costs. They often exempt new construction entirely. Over the short run, at least, such controls exhibit no evidence of the negative effects that characterize highly restrictive, long-term controls.
- There is a wide range between a rent freeze and an investment-neutral type of rent control. It seems reasonable to conclude that the more restrictive the control, the lower general rent levels are held and the worse the negative impacts on the quantity and quality of rental housing are likely to be. Similarly, the less restrictive the control, the less the effect on both general rent levels and the quantity and quality of rental housing.

The difference between the Gruens and Gilderbloom lies in their prediction of whether moderate controls will tend to become more restrictive over time. The Gruens say, "Yes." Gilderbloom says, "Maybe."

Just as some rent control critics have asserted that many modern rent controls are still too new for negative effects to have surfaced, Gilderbloom says it is too early to verify or dismiss any trend toward greater restrictiveness. Although he agrees that some cities have toughened their controls, he says that others have loosened or eliminated them.

The Gruens acknowledge that some cities, like Miami Beach, Florida, have ended their temporary controls. But they think the more likely path is for moderate controls to become tougher. They believe that rent control advocates want to limit rents, not just windfall profits. Since moderate controls permit rents to rise, they believe pressure will grow to tighten the controls instead of removing them, especially when landlords' costs are rising rapidly and pushing up rent levels.

Both positions regarding future changes in moderate rent control laws are based on general observation rather than on any systematic analysis of hard data. Those interested in rent control and its potential effects will have to decide for themselves which point of view to accept. *L.R.M.*

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while residential rents had climbed only about 60 percent. But rents were rising more rapidly than home ownership costs for most of 1977.

The heavy demand for single-family houses and the rapid increase in their prices in recent years has attracted much of the residential building activity throughout the state in that direction. But as houses became more expensive, some would-be homeowners had to settle for apartment living, thereby adding to the demand for apartments.

During the same period, some of the landlords' operating costs (such as the price of energy) were increasing, and inflation meant the rent dollars they were receiving would buy less. While an overabundance of units from the last building boom remained, there wasn't much landlords could do as long as they wanted to keep their investments in rental residential property. But the housing market is cyclical: With much of the new demand coming from one- or two-person households and with rents a bargain compared to the cost of buying a house, vacant units began to fill up. In the city of Los Angeles, for example, the apartment vacancy rate fell from 3.3 percent in September 1976, to 2.6 percent in September 1977, according to the Real Estate Research Council of Southern California.

Increased costs gave landlords the justification for raising rents; strong demand gave them the opportunity. For some, the opportunity counted for more than the justification. That led to speculative buying and selling of single-family homes, as well as apartment buildings. Some buildings changed hands several times in a relatively short period, and each change brought another round of rent increases as the new owners boosted rates to cover their higher mortgage and interest costs.

In some cases, individual landlords may be reaping greater profits than are necessary to attract investment. It is this kind of profit — the "gouging" cited by rent control advocates — that is the target of moderate, or "investment-neutral," rent controls. Such moderate mechanisms do not provide general rent relief.

Build or control?

But such controls present another danger: If tenants and control advocates misunderstand the purpose and limitations of investment-neutral controls, political pressure is likely to mount to convert them into more severe regulations. If the regulations become severe enough, says economist Claude Gruen, then rent control will be helping today's poor at the expense of tomorrow's poor.

Supporters of rent control do not see it as a panacea for housing problems in California. "I still believe that the answer will lie in greater supply down the line and heavier (government) subsidy — and I see rent control as an interim protection for tenants, not a solution to the problem," says Richard Blumberg, associate director of the National Housing Law Project in Berkeley and an acknowledged expert on second-generation rent control.

"I'd much rather see the state of California put four or five billion dollars into building low- and moderate-income housing and senior housing and do away with the need for rent control," he adds.

Some government action, though, works more to restrict the supply of housing than to expand it. "In order to have more rental units, we have to have more zoning for apartments," explains Fred E. Case, professor of real estate and urban land economics at UCLA and a member of the Los Angeles City Planning Commission. "The Santa Monica City Council is putting in various growth control proposals. They want to limit the number of apartments."

Case thinks rent control could mean big administrative headaches. "If the economics of the market are such that there's a pressure for rental units, and that pressure is not being resolved by better supply, any device that you use to artificially control one element — say, the supply element — means that as fast as you propose a rule, somebody's going to figure out how to get around it," he says. "What you really invite under rent control is just a horrendous bureaucracy."

Supporters and opponents alike seem to agree that, with or without rent control, the private sector alone cannot be expected to meet all the housing needs of very low-income people under present conditions, although the market does operate indirectly to provide some low-income housing through "filtering." Filtering is the process by which older houses or apartments are made available to people with lower incomes when the occupants of the older units move up to newer and usually more expensive homes. In a very tight market, however, not much is likely to filter down as far as the lowest rungs of the economic ladder.

Frank G. Mittlebach, professor of management and planning at UCLA and director of the university's Housing, Real Estate and Urban Land Studies Program, fears that rent control advocates are seeking short-run solutions at the expense of harmful, long-run economic consequences.

A tight housing market can bring many different problems. Whether any particular form of rent control can ease some of those problems without making others worse will depend a great deal on the specific provisions of the measure proposed and on how the proposal is perceived by both tenants and investors. One thing is certain: Rent control is not a magic wand that will simply make high housing costs disappear. The problems are much more complex than that.

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Brown's fourth budget: not as generous as it seems

By Ed Salzman

The date is November 6th, 1978 — the day before the next general election. Every Californian gets a letter reading something like this: "Because of prudent management of state funds and boom economic conditions that have produced a bounty of state income taxes, there is now too much money in the state treasury. The Governor and the Legislature have decided to return some of the surplus to the taxpayers. The enclosed check, representing $100 for every man, woman and child in your family, will bring the state budget back into balance and provide consumers with spending money that will further assist the state's economy." The letter and the check are signed by the state controller, Ken Cory.

That's hardly a political dream. The state has amassed so much money it could provide Californians with the $100 rebates — on top of property tax relief and funding of the expensive school-finance bill approved last year. In most years, a state budget is analyzed from the viewpoint of how the money is earmarked for expenditure. In this era of the colossal cornucopia, it makes more sense to concentrate on the tax and surplus side of the ledger.

The budget Governor Brown presented to the Legislature on January 9th shows that the state should end the current fiscal year with a surplus in excess of $3 billion — the amount of the entire state budget only 13 years ago. That surplus would grow much larger if the basic $16.2 billion budget is not increased by some $1.2 billion for property tax relief and other projects, as recommended by the Governor. And that assumes that the revenue estimates by the Department of Finance are more accurate than they were last year.

There is no secret where the growing surplus is coming from. The personal income tax takes proportionately more money from people as their salaries increase, and this provides a bonanza for the state during inflationary periods. Thus, the state last year figured it would collect $4.3 billion in personal income taxes during the current fiscal year, but that has now been readjusted upward by $300 million. The estimate for the 1978-79 fiscal year is $5.5 billion, a 20 percent increase. That figure will prove conservative unless there is a slowdown in the rate of collection.

Spending the surplus

The Governor has proposed that the Legislature reduce the impending surplus, which otherwise could approach the $5 billion figure at mid-1979, by appropriating $1 billion for property tax relief and some $800 million for Brown pet projects over a period of years. In view of the revenue increases, it is hard to understand why the new legislative analyst, William Hamm, warned the Legislature that Brown's budget is so generous that the state could face tax increases a few years down the road. Such a warning must be based on the assumption that the income-tax Santa Claus will stop coming down the chimney with such a heavy load in future years. Hamm also criticized the Governor for not spelling out his supplemental expenditure proposals.

In a sense the Brown budget is conservative. It calls for a slowdown in the boom conditions experienced by California in 1977. Last year, personal income was up 12.5 percent, corporate profits up 17.7 percent, taxable sales up 19 percent, auto sales up 25 percent, authorized housing units up 24 percent. The new budget is based on the assumption that there will be slowdowns in all categories, with personal income, corporate profits and taxable sales all rising about 10

Budget Facts and Figures

Total: $17.4 billion ($16.2 basic budget, plus $1.2 billion in supplemental items), up 14.7 percent from the current level of spending, 18.4 percent from the budget signed into law last year, and 14.5 percent from the budget submitted to the Legislature by Governor Brown a year ago.

New taxes: none.

Tax relief: $1 billion in unspecified property tax benefits.

Economic forecast: strong, but the some dropoff from last year's boom conditions.

Where money goes: education 37 percent (K-12, 23 percent; higher, 14 percent); health and welfare, 31 percent; property tax relief, 9 percent (not including the proposed $1 billion addition); business and transportation, 6 percent.

How money is raised: sales tax, 32 percent, personal income tax, 32 percent; bank and corporation tax, 12 percent, transportation levies, 11 percent.

Projected surpluses: $3 billion on June 30th, 1978, and 2.7 billion on June 30th, 1979 (plus $2 billion in reserves for special programs).

State employees: 224,000, up about 2,500 from the estimated current work force.

Pay raises: a five-percent average for all employees, plus additional funds to eliminate inequities.

Federal aid: $8.6 billion, up from $8.5 billion in the current fiscal year.

Outstanding bonded debt: $5.6 billion and holding steady.

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percent and auto sales and home construction both down. The Department of Finance is optimistic that both unemployment and inflation will drop slightly.

If it turns out that economic activity in 1978 maintains the momentum gathered in 1977, the governor elected this November could start work with a surplus in excess of $3 billion — enough to distribute $136 to every one of California's 22 million residents.

On the surface, the budget for next year might look much more generous than the three previous Brown budgets. But when the $1.2 billion in supplemental items are omitted, it is only about eight percent higher than the current level of spending. The Governor has managed to retain a relatively tight rein on overall spending by state agencies and at the same time make it appear that he has proclaimed an end to the era of limits and instead has substituted a *Star Wars* era of exploration.

Brown's budget message to the Legislature sounded his election-year theme: "California is still a land of dreams. Drawn from the whole earth and particularly the Pacific rim, our people create strength out of diversity. Forests, farming, water and abundant sun form the base. High technology, aerospace and new ideas set the direction." It sounds like a Chamber of Commerce boosterism pamphlet. The Governor continued: "Though faced with fundamental limits, state government has untapped possibilities. This budget builds for the future with no new across-the-board taxes and the following specific initiatives . . ." Here are the eight "initiatives" presented by Brown:

- ***$1 billion for property tax relief.*** Four days earlier the Governor called the Legislature into special session to enact a bill centering on aid for homeowners and including an end to the tax on business inventories. The Legislature failed to agree on a bill last year, and Brown called for prompt action in an effort to hold off voter support for the radical Jarvis-Gann initiative, which has qualified for the June ballot.
- ***$500 million over a period of years for reforestation of 300 acres of California land, for energy conservation and for development of new supplies of energy.*** Among the energy-source possibilities are coal, geothermal wells, the sun, wind and refuse. The Governor proposed specifically that wood chips be burned to fuel the Capitol complex heating and cooling plant. Relatively little of the $500 million will probably be approved by the Legislature for use in the next fiscal year.
- ***$300 million to provide moderate and low-income housing.*** In effect, Brown would be using general fund dollars instead of bond funds, rejected by the voters in 1976, to get the state's housing program moving.
- ***$122 million for improvement of the state mental health system,*** both at the community and state-hospital level. Some legislators reacted angrily to this aspect of the budget. They claimed they had been screaming for years that more money was needed for hospital staffing and improved community facilities, but that the Governor did not respond. They feel the $122 million is being allocated now because the election is around the corner.
- ***Relatively small allocations, a total of $9 million,*** for occupational protection from toxic substances, to prevent the spread of "Angel Dust" use among young people, for expansion of the state apprenticeship program into new fields, and a new program to encourage community-oriented policing on the model started by Police Chief Ray Davis of Santa Ana.

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And a satellite, too

The Governor personally met with the press at the annual budget briefing session to spread the good word that 1977 was a boom year for California and to explain his new era of non-limits initiatives. He was accompanied by his aide, astronaut Rusty Schweickart, who explained a $5.8 million proposal for a California communications satellite.

With the exception of the property-tax-relief appropriation, all of these show-business items will have relatively little impact on the overall budget because they represent such a small percentage of the $17.4 billion package. The meat-and-potatoes items — like education, health and welfare and employee salaries — are the foundation of the spending program. Here is how they look:

Higher education. The Governor proposed rather modest increases for all three elements in the University of California $782 million, up $45 million or 6 percent; State University and Colleges, $698 million, up $26 million or 4 percent; community colleges, $567 million up $54 million or 11 percent. University of California President David Saxon said he was satisfied with the allocation, but he objects to the 5 percent pay increase recommended to the Legislature; the University had sought 9.3 percent. (The salary increases are not included in the basic allocations and are budgeted separately.)

Elementary and secondary schools. The enactment of a major school-finance reform act last year forced an increase in spending from slightly over $3 billion in the current year to $3.44 billion in the next year, an increase of about 14 percent. The Department of Finance estimated school enrollement at 4.35 million students, a slight decline from 4.42 million in the current year. The department also estimated that there would be virtually no enrollment changes in the UC or state college systems.

Health and Welfare. Medi-Cal costs are expected to rise $238 million, or 17 percent, to a new total of $1.7 billion. Various social-service programs would rise $186 million or 13 percent.

Property tax relief. Even without a new bill, the state would be spending $1.46 billion for various tax relief programs, an increase of 3 percent over the current year. Adoption of a new $1 billion program would produce an overall increase of 72 percent for the year.

Pay raises. The Governor allocated $261 million in additional employee compensation, $197 million in salary boosts and $64 million in equity adjustments and other benefits.

Brown could have afforded to be much more generous. Despite the Governor's rhetoric, this is essentially a conservative package, much like his first three. It was only by adding the property-tax relief and other supplemental items that Brown prevented an enlargement of the $3 billion surplus.

Unless the Legislature adopts a $100-a-head rebate scheme or something of the sort, it looks as if Brown or whoever is elected governor in November will operate on a street of green for several years to come.

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CHARTING THE LEGISLATURE

This report on major bills being considered by the Legislature is a monthly *Journal* feature. As significant new bills are introduced they will be added. As action is completed on measures, they will be dropped. The following bills, listed last month, have not changed status: SB 443, AB 1624, AB 291, SB 111, SCA 23, ACA 4, AB 1644, SB 346, SB 154, SB 164.

SUBJECT	BILLS	DESCRIPTION	STATUS
ABORTION	AB 2063 (Chappie)	Would deny Medi-Cal abortions except to save a woman's life or in cases of rape or incest.	*Dropped by author.*
BUDGET	AB 2190 (Boatwright)	Appropriates $17.4 billion for the support of state government for fiscal year 1978 - 79.	*Assembly Ways & Means Committee.*
	SB 1355 (Rodda)		*Senate Finance Committee.*
BUSINESS TAXES	SB 1266	Excludes income derived from outside the United States in determining the amount of business income subject to taxation.	*SB 1266 has been dropped.*
	SB 1368 (Briggs)		*SB 1368 is in the Senate Revenue & Taxation Committee.*
	AB 74 (Lockyer)	Phases out business inventory tax over a five-year period.	*AB 74 and AB 6x are in the Assembly Revenue and Taxation Committee.*
	SB 1306 and SB 3x (Nejedly)		*SB 1306, SB 3x and SB 4x are in the Senate Revenue and Taxation Committee.*
	SB 4x (Robbins)	Exempts business inventories from taxation within one to two years.	
	AB 6x (Chimbole)		
BUSING	SCA 48 (Robbins)	Proposed constitutional amendment to prohibit schools from imposing more stringent standards for the busing of pupils than are applied by the federal government.	*Defeated in Assembly Judiciary Committee.*
COURT REFORM	SB 1313 & SCA 52 (Song)	Eliminates municipal and justice courts; establishes a system of trial courts.	*Senate Judiciary Committee.*
	SB 1362 (Smith)	Provides for the mandatory submission of certain civil actions to arbitration.	*Senate Judiciary Committee.*
DRINKING AGE	ACA 55 (Papan)	Proposed constitutional amendment to lower the drinking age from 21 to 19.	*Passed Assembly and Senate Governmental Organization Committee. On Senate floor.*
ELECTED OFFICIAL SALARIES	SCA 45 (Mills)	Proposed constitutional amendment to create a California Elected Officials Compensation Commission to set salaries and benefits for executive, legislative and judicial officials.	*Passed Senate and Assembly.*
EMPLOYMENT	AB 1295 (Bates)	Prohibits an employer from firing an employee for refusing to work overtime.	*Passed Assembly. Senate Industrial Relations Committee hearing March 1st.*
HOMOSEXUALS	SB 1253 (Briggs)	Prohibits homosexuals from teaching in public schools and provides procedure for their dismissal.	*Dropped by author.*
NUCLEAR ENERGY	AB 2173 (Dannemeyer)	Repeals law prohibiting the building of nuclear power plants unless approved by the state energy commission.	*Assembly Resources, Land Use and Energy Committee.*
PRISONS	SB 1342 (Presley)	Appropriates $130 million to build additional state prisons.	*Senate Judiciary Committee.*
UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE	AB 644 (McAlister)	Extends unemployment benefits to an estimated 900,000 public employees in conformity with changes in federal law.	*Passed both houses. Sent to Governor.*

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Why the state hasn't bought public financing of elections

By TONY QUINN

Senator Everett Dirksen used to campaign against social legislation and then end up voting for it on the grounds that "its time had come." Public financing of elections may be one of those issues whose time has come — and gone.

In the wake of last year's presidential election, the first one publicly financed in history, public financing for congressional campaigns seemed ready to breeze through Congress, and the chances looked bright for a California public financing bill. But then the congressional bills fell on hard times, and the Senate version was eaten up in a filibuster. The California bill was weakened and now faces an uncertain future.

Public financing of campaigns is an issue involving a delicate balancing of interests. It is, as Chief Justice Warren Burger warned last year, "an intrusion by the government into the traditionally private political process." It also enshrines the two-party system by largely excluding third parties from the process. But at the same time, it may be the only real antidote to big money in politics, and it may provide the best hope for restoring competitiveness to legislative and congressional races. The astronomical cost of campaigning today means that a legislative challenger needs upwards of $100,000 to get off the ground in a contested district.

Yet this very issue of competitiveness probably doomed congressional public financing this year. A funding bill had twice passed the Senate, but in 1977 it became intermeshed with Carter Administration proposals to repeal the Hatch Act's prohibitions on political activities by federal employees and to enact instant voter registration. Republicans looked on these measures as Democratic plots to fatten their voter rolls. When the financing bill came up, Republican senators took aim at it too. Claiming the bill as written would entrench majority party incumbents, several moderate Republicans, who were on record as favoring public financing, joined conservatives in both parties to kill the bill. This doomed congressional public financing for the 1978 elections.

The most telling argument against public financing is that it is a "politicians' raid on the treasury." For this reason, public financing proposals are always tied to some limitations on either private contributions or campaigning expenditures. Proponents realize limitations are vital if public financing is to achieve its goals. It would hardly enhance competitiveness to give wealthy, entrenched incumbents thousands of public dollars to pile on top of their already burgeoning private funds. But deciding how and where to limit private funds is a process beset with policy and constitutional pitfalls. And the situation was hardly improved when the Supreme Court got into the act in 1976.

The court's patchwork

Telling people how much they can give to a campaign, and how much candidates can spend promoting themselves, obviously intrudes the government into the First Admendment thicket of free speech and expression. In its *Buckley v. Valeo* decision just before the 1976 presidential campaign, the Supreme Court tried to separate the elements of public financing, deciding which ones impermissibly infringed on freedom of expression and which did not. The result was a confusing patchwork of constitutional standards which only made it more difficult to construct a fair and equitable system of public financing.

The court said contribution limitations are constitutional since they entail only a marginal restriction on a contributor's ability to engage in free communication. However, expenditure limitations, since they are imposed on the candidate's campaign itself, went too far and are unconstitutional if they are mandatory. However, if a candidate is willing to abide by them in exchange for public monies, then they are constitutional. In other words, expenditure limitations are only constitutional if they are voluntary.

If that were not bewildering enough, the court went on to

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say that independent expenditures on a candidate's behalf could not be limited under any circumstances. It is a fine line between an expenditure *by* a candidate and one *on behalf of* a candidate; and, particularly in ballot measure campaigns, the line is nearly nonexistent. The loophole opened by the independent expenditure ruling works both ways. While a popular and well-known candidate may benefit from unlimited expenditures on his behalf, he may also lose control of a large part of his financial resources. This happened to U.S. Senator S. I. Hayakawa in 1976. The Hayakawa campaign was forced to raise its funds within a congressional contribution limit of $1,000 per contribution. However, an independent group began raising unlimited funds in Hayakawa's name, and was so successful the candidate had to go to court to stop the independent committee from raiding his campaign sources.

Expenditure limitations were not the only area in which the *Buckley* ruling muddied the waters. The court ruled it unconstitutional to limit how much of a candidate's own money he or she can spend. Thus, while the $1,000 limit placed on contributions to congressional races under current law is constitutional, it is not constitutional to apply that limitation to a candidate's own funds. The inequity in this ruling is obvious, and nowhere was it more so than in the 1976 Pennsylvania Senate race where pickle and catsup heir H. J. Heinz spent upwards of $2.5 million of his own money to win the seat, while his opponent had to struggle with contributions of less than $1,000 from his various sources.

How much support?

The constitutional problems imposed on public financing have only heightened growing political concerns which are stalling public financing at the state and national levels. How much support is there for this concept? In the wake of Watergate, probably any public financing proposal would have passed. But in 1976, an initiative for public financing in Oregon, a progressive and reform-minded state, lost overwhelmingly. Still, Common Cause, the major proponent of public financing, points to growing use of the income tax check-off, the means of financing presidential campaigns, as proof of public financing's appeal.

Secondly, there is the question of who gets helped and who gets hurt under public financing. Most opponents of public financing claim it is an "incumbent protection" mechanism. But Common Cause is quick to reply that if this were the case, public financing would have passed years ago. Assemblyman Vic Fazio of Sacramento, author of the current California approach, says fears by incumbents that it will help their challengers is one of his toughest hurdles in getting a bill through the Legislature.

Certainly in 1976 President Ford was anything but helped by the fact his challengers had access to public money. Jimmy Carter was not the choice of the big Democratic money-givers, and might well never have made it out of the starting gate without public funds in the early primaries. Ronald Reagan's campaign was kept afloat after his early primary setbacks in part by public money, and his leftover public funds have helped finance a new grassroots conservative operation.

As long as public financing provides a floor for hopeful candidates to launch their races, it is obviously a boon to challengers. Jim Keysor, chairman of the Assembly Elections and Reapportionment committee, is convinced public financing will make legislative races more competitive by giving otherwise hopeless challengers a source of money to keep them afloat.

But when public financing is combined with any sort of limitations — and contribution limits seem likely to be included in any plan — the shoe shifts to the other foot. Incumbents already have a form of public financing through newsletters, staff and access to the media which comes with being an elected official. Also, incumbents generally have a long list of potential backers, and ready access to special interest money, even if it must be parceled out in smaller amounts. For the challenger, the mountain is already high enough, without the additional burden of limits on how much he or she can raise or spend.

Limitations can work to an incumbent's disadvantage, too. U.S. Senator John Tunney was unable to match Hayakawa in raising small amounts from many sources. And limits severely hamper the little-known candidate running against the statewide name. In a state as large as California, name identification is a political commodity worth hundreds of thousands of dollars, as challengers to Governor Brown discovered in 1974. Having the same name which has appeared on every statewide ballot since 1946 was almost as good for Jerry Brown as being a Kennedy in Massachusetts. Still, it is an open question whether public financing, with its attendant controls, makes it easier or harder for the challenger to assault a political institution.

Effect on the parties

Then there is the question of the impact of public financing on the political party structure. Some opponents contend it will destroy any hope third parties may have in California, and point to the fact that independent presidential candidate Eugene McCarthy was excluded from the 1976 public financing scheme. Others contend it will fragment the existing two-party structure and weaken it even more than did the Hiram Johnson reforms in the early 1900's.

In fact, public financing's problems with the parties in California grow out of the fundamental differences between the two parties in organizational structure. The Democratic party is often described as a brawling collection of barons who unite only at election time, while the Republicans often complain that their party base is too small and monolithic. The Democratic party itself raises little money, while individual Democrats raise and parcel out great amounts. On the Republican side it is just the opposite: The party raises most of the money and party leaders disperse it from a central fund. Thus a financing plan which severely limits contributions to party organizations will hinder the Republicans much more than the Democrats.

An example of this party structure problem in the opposite direction arose in the last presidential campaign. Party organizations under federal law are permitted to spend independently on behalf of their party slate. Thus the Republicans, with their ready machinery, had a means of helping Ford above and beyond what his own campaign could spend; while Carter, with no parallel fund-raising apparatus in his party, was left running on his own. Many feel this quirk in the federal law contributed to his narrow loss to Ford in California.

Sorting out these difficulties for a California public financing bill fell to Assemblyman Fazio and the sponsors of this year's proposal. They opted for a plan without spending limitations because of the author's belief they work an unnecessary hardship on candidates. However, Fazio's bill, AB 1372, does include low contribution limits, as well as an ingenious plan to finance primary elections.

Primaries are a particular problem in legislative public financing, because upwards of two-thirds of the districts are "safe" for one party or the other, and thus the election contest occurs in the primary. Fazio's bill would allow a candidate to receive public money for a primary campaign if the candidate showed a level of electoral support, either by obtaining endorsement card signatures or small private contributions. Once qualified, the candidate is eligible to receive funds from the state on a three to one matching basis

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— three state dollars for every one contributed privately.

While this approach may have helped settle the policy problem of funding primaries, it caused severe political problems for the bill with legislators. Fazio was forced to drop the primary funding for legislative candidates to get the bill out of the Assembly elections committee. A similar matching system does remain in the bill for statewide elections.

The statewide elections game

A number of observers feel that statewide elections may be where the game is anyway, and that to move a bill through both the Assembly and Senate, it may be necessary to drop the section on funding legislative campaigns altogether. The primary election problem does not exist on the statewide level, since general elections, as a rule, are competitive. Only in the case of an extremely popular statewide officeholder does the general election assume noncompetitive overtones.

AB 1372 permits public funding of statewide primaries up to $770,000 for governor, $308,000 for lieutenant governor and attorney general, and $231,000 for everyone else. In the general election, gubernatorial candidates may receive up to $1,078,000, and other statewide candidates $385,000. This infusion of public money may help alleviate the problem of lesser-known statewide candidates, particularly if contribution limits make it that much harder for them to raise the "big bucks" to gain statewide name recognition.

There is also some hope that a plan limited to statewide elections might pass the Senate, where each of the previous state public financing bills has died. Some senators are known to harbor statewide political ambitions themselves, and statewide public financing poses no threat to legislative incumbents.

But even if public financing survives these hurdles, it still faces a myriad of practical and political obstacles. Who is to administer and enforce it? How will funds be raised? What is to keep an entrenched incumbent from spending his money on a round-the-world vacation rather than the campaign? How do supporters overcome the feeling of many Republicans that this is a Democratic gimmick, and the fear of many Democrats that it threatens recent hard-won election gains? What about the conservatives who see it as another bureaucratic maze, and the liberals who feel it threatens free expression in the political process? Finally, how many citizens would consider it a giveaway of taxpayer dollars to politicians?

Fazio himself feels the bill's worst enemy may be inertia — a feeling that politics has been radically changed by the new post-Watergate reforms, and that it is now time to leave things alone for a while. Loss of the public financing bills in Congress, and the apparent defeat of President Carter's other election reforms, may signal a slowdown in making further changes on the national level. Their defeat has made progress that much more difficult in California.

The bitterest enemies of public financing are those who fear they will lose influence if it passes, both incumbents who fear tougher races and special interests who fear their private money would be worth less. Business groups traditionally oppose public financing for a number of reasons, not the least of which is a concern that they would lose influence with legislators no longer dependent upon private contributions.

But ironically, the saviors of public financing may come from those same opponents because of subtle changes in the political system. Business no longer dominates political giving as it once did. In 1976, the biggest givers to legislative races were teachers and public employees. And business lobbyists have found no lack of access or influence in the Legislature, even though under current California law lobbyists cannot make contributions.

Finally there is the dramatic shift in the Legislature toward a one-party system, with Democrats now near their highest level in history. While Republicans generally oppose public financing for philosophical and political reasons, there is an undercurrent of feeling among some party leaders that public financing may be just what they need for a comeback. Attractive candidates often pass up the race when faced with the need to raise monstrous campaign funds. And money gets tighter for challengers every year.

So the supporters of public financing cast a wary eye toward their adversaries, hoping the ghost of Everett Dirksen's logic will smile upon them once more.

Newsmakers

The Sacramento scramble

Three major Democratic contenders announced their candidacies for the congressional seat being vacated by the dean of the state's House delegation, **John E. Moss** of Sacramento. Mayor **Phil Isenberg,** Vice Mayor **Robert Matsui** and Assemblyman **Eugene Gualco,** all of Sacramento, are among the candidates for the Moss seat. The probable Republican nominee is Supervisor **Sandra Smoley.** Moss said he was retiring from office because he has not recovered fully from a 1976 auto accident.

Previously, another House Democratic veteran, **B. F. Sisk** of Fresno, announced that he would not seek reelection. Sisk is supporting his aide, **Tony Coelho,** as his successor . . . Assemblyman **John L. E. Collier** of Arcadia, 73, announced that he would run for another term. He had previously indicated he might retire.

Attorney **Alexander H. Pope,** a state highway commissioner during the Pat Brown administration, was appointed Los Angeles county assessor, succeeding Philip E. Watson . . . **Arlo Smith,** a senior assistant attorney general, announced his candidacy for the Democratic nomination for attorney general . . . **Theresa Dietrich** of Contra Costa County was selected as the American Independent Party candidate for governor . . . Assemblyman **Gordon Duffy** of Hanford was elected chairman of the Assembly's new rural caucus.

The State Bar board of governors adopted a resolution criticizing comments by **J. Anthony Kline,** Governor Brown's legal affairs secretary, as "a slander against the courts and lawyers of California." Kline had charged that lawyers are "part of the problem" of court congestion . . . **Herbert W. Kalmback Jr.** of Newport Beach, who was suspended from the practice of law because of a Watergate-connected conviction, was reinstated by the State Bar . . . **Joseph E. Bodovitz** resigned as executive director of the California Coastal Commission to reflect, write, teach and consult . . . **Clark Mitze** announced he would resign as executive director of the California Arts Council because of disputes over policy . . . Former state Senator **Stan Pittman** of Oroville pleaded no contest to a charge of being an accessory to illegal land splitting, was fined $250 and placed on probation for three years.

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STATE-OF-THE-STATE MESSAGE

'Frank Lanterman, this is your last year in the Legislature and may it be the year of mental health.'

The following is the complete text of Governor Brown's state-of-the-state report, delivered to the Legislature on January 5th:

Before I talk of the year ahead, a thought about the past. It was a good year.

Despite prophesies of disaster, poor business climate and water and energy shortages, our state experienced an economic boom unparalleled in the nation. By the latest federal statistics, almost one-half million new jobs were created in this state and the people of California did this with half the energy growth rate of five years ago. Our minimum wages were higher than the national average. Our commitment to senior citizens, our encouragement of women, minorities, handicapped citizens, set a model for the other states. Our laws protecting the environment were tough. New cars sold in California are now twice as clean as those sold elsewhere. Management of our coastline and beaches protects not only development today but the enjoyment of future generations. Our laws requiring nuclear safeguards have achieved worldwide significance.

This is California. A good environment, a healthy economy, and a commitment to fundamental equality. But as a people, we are too young to look back and stand still with the achievements of the moment. It is time to build for the future. The list of challenges is long.

• First, *homeowners and renters* are getting discouraged. They want relief. The rapid economic growth has driven up the assessment and the property taxes of millions. Before this month is out, you should put on my desk a billion dollar property tax relief measure. It should place tight limits on local government and permanently curb runaway property tax increases and do so without new across-the-board taxes. To make this possible, and at your request, I am calling you into Special Session at 1:30 p.m. for the sole purpose of enacting such a property tax relief measure. In addition, before the year is out, I ask you to abolish the inventory tax. It will not only help business, it will provide jobs and ensure that the economic momentum we have will not be lost.

• Next, *crime*. I will ask again for new prisons. It is impossible for judges to hand out tough sentences if there is no place to lock people up. More effort will be spent on controlling gangs, and new laws will be required to protect society from mentally disordered and violent offenders. And while we incarcerate those who break our laws, we must provide better opportunities to work and to learn skills that will allow them to become productive citizens upon their release.

• *Job training*. Despite large sums of federal and state money, too many young people have no marketable skills and no sense of work and little opportunity to develop. To correct this, I propose a 50 percent increase in our apprenticeship programs. On-the-job training under the guidance of management and labor has worked well in the construction trades and now must be expanded into new fields such as agriculture, health and other white collar jobs. Within five years we can triple our present apprenticeship programs.

• *Economic development*. The key to our economic success is the unique blend of our natural environment, high technology, and a genius for risk and innovation. California doesn't look back, it breaks new ground — our efforts to conserve water and energy, protect our land, our water and our air. At the same time, such conservation makes new jobs possible. Protecting our agricultural land now will serve the next generation when millions more people look to the abundance of our fields.

• One quarter of our richest *forest land* lies dormant even though trees use solar energy better than any manmade device. Accordingly, I propose an initial five-year program of reforesting 300,000 acres. This will ensure future timber production and provide immediate jobs in a hard-pressed section of our economy.

• California has prospered because of our climate and

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our plentiful supply of *energy* in the form of oil and gas. As these finite resources diminish, it is essential that this state invest in the future by insuring new energy supplies. You have already started with the new 55 percent solar tax credit. But more is needed.

I propose that substantial sums of state funds be invested in developing new technologies that will provide energy from coal gasification, geothermal, solar and biomass conversion.

We can protect our quality of life for future generations if we join with private enterprise and the federal government to develop the tremendous untapped energy potential of our state.

- When I talk of *space*, I don't think of movies. I see the future of our species penetrating the universe. This year I propose the state invest $5 million in the practical application of satellite technology for communications and monitoring of our natural resources.

For the University, I have set aside funds to enable the faculty to establish a space institute.

The space shuttle built in California marks the beginning, not the end. It has the same potential as the transcontinental railroad when that brought together the two ends of this continent. It is opening up new possibilities in space.

In the eighties I see the University and our aerospace industries leading the world in both exploring and using space for the enhancement of life on earth.

- Finally, I turn to *mental health*. Our hospitals have been troubled and our communities have lacked the resources to care for the growing number of mentally ill and disabled citizens. Many of you have seen this coming for a decade. One has worked longer and with more perserverance than all others. Frank Lanterman, this is your last year in the Legislature and may it be the year of mental health. I will support substantial increases for state hospitals and for new and expanded care in the community: to provide after-care, to provide sheltered workshops, psychiatric intervention teams, and the building of a truly integrated and human mental health system.

1977 has been good to most of the people in this state. Personal income increased about twelve and a half percent; our economy outpaced the rest of the nation — most of the countries of the world. We are emerging as a world center. We are part of a Pacific culture united by history and geography with the emerging sector and part of this earth. We are a trading center. We can't shrink back from that into some kind of isolation. We have to recognize our capacity for exporting agricultural crops and our technological products. We also export our culture and our ideas.

California has always been on the cutting edge, the cutting edge of new ideas. A great university, a great Legislature, and an honest government. I want to see it that way. I want to build for the future. I want to invest in it. What we do this year will affect people for decades to come, and I see over the years ahead a growing emergence of the people and the institutions of this state. People all over the world are looking at what we are doing. You have been in the forefront of many things. The ideas that we formulate into law come not just from a governor or from one legislator or from one year, but the accumulated wisdom and hard work of the people who have come before us, and will come after us. It is a very exciting time. It is a difficult time. We are a state of diverse people, diverse lifestyles. In that diversity, I see a strength. In the conflict, in creative tension between this Legislature and the Executive Branch and the Judicial Branch, I see protection of our fundamental liberties and I see a great strength for the future. In the year ahead, I want to work with you and I want to make it a year to be remembered for decades to come. Thank you very much.

AND THE REPUBLICAN VIEW . . .

The following response to the Governor's address was prepared by Senate minority leader George Deukmejian at the request of the Journal.

By Senator George Deukmejian

Fifty-nine (59) seconds. Thirty-three (33) seconds.

That is how much time Governor Brown devoted, in his State-of-the-State message, to what concerns most Californians: taxes and crime.

After more than a year of discussion on the property tax problems, the Governor saw fit to devote only 59 seconds to the subject, and then he failed to propose any specific method for achieving such tax relief.

During the Senate floor debate on property tax relief on September 15th, the last day of the 1977 session, Republicans urged an immediate call into special session on tax reform. But the Governor refused, saying he wanted the legislators to meditate over taxes. Nearly four months later, after the Jarvis-Gann initiative qualified for the ballot, he developed a sudden new urgency and called for enactment of a complex $1 billion tax package in less than 25 days.

The state has a $3 billion unrestricted surplus due to the unintentional overtaxation of the taxpayers. However, he wants only a $1 billion tax package, preferring to sit on the remaining $2 billion in state surplus monies. The Governor, and other liberal Democrats, would express public outrage if any corporation were to realize such a huge windfall profit. They would contend that consumers had been ripped off and would seek either to surtax such profits or to nationalize the company. When it comes to government taking and keeping people's money, they become willing participants in the scheme.

Republicans believe that, in addition to a property tax relief bill, most of the surplus should be given back to those who paid it . . . immediately. We proposed a 50 percent cut in the income tax for the 1977 tax year. Taxpayers would figure their income taxes as they normally do, then cut that figure by 50 percent as an income tax credit, and send in the remaining 50 percent, with maximum benefits of $500 for a married couple and $250 for a single person. Taxpayers having no income tax obligation would receive a minimum of $100. That's putting $1.7 billion back into the pockets of the people now.

Nowhere in the Governor's message was there a hint of any attempts to limit taxation or spending by "state" government. He seeks only to limit local government property tax revenues on residential property. Nary a word was said about limiting state government growth or spending or its

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ability to tax. Local government is not the only villain in the eyes of the taxpayer.

Following his State-of-the-State message, the Governor proposed a nearly $18 billion budget for 1978-79. At the start of his term, he expressed concern about the "proliferation of government programs." This surprised many Republicans and liberal Democrats. However, with this budget, he has adopted the big spending policies of the liberal Democrats.

He supports the need for greater spending by saying that California is the "land of dreams." The only dream in this new budget is a "bad dream" for the already overtaxed taxpayers. The Governor's support for this huge spending program destroys his image and credibility as a fiscal conservative. He has misread the public this time. The people want less government spending, not more. They won't be fooled any longer. They know that you can't give tax relief by increasing government spending.

The Governor refuses to support indexing of income taxes. But fairness to all California citizens who pay income taxes demands that our present income tax laws be revised to adjust for inflation. The major part of the present huge state surplus is the result of inflation increasing the paychecks of taxpayers, shoving them into higher tax brackets, and bringing more and more of their weekly pay into state coffers. Ten years ago 10 percent of the income taxpayers were in the 6 percent or higher tax brackets. Today 50 percent of the taxpayers are in those upper tax brackets.

Indexing is the only fair way to levy income taxes, but the Governor is unalterably opposed to fairness when it comes to taxpayers.

* * *

Thirty-three (33) seconds . . .

That's how much time the Governor spent on crime, the criminal justice system, the courts, prisons and the California Youth Authority.

The Governor wants new prisons. That would be a positive step, unless those new prisons are equipped with the same revolving doors that our present prisons have.

* * *

A State-of-the-State message doesn't always give a complete report on the current administration. While tax relief and crime received little time, the state of the administration received none. The Governor has always tried to avoid responsibilities for the actions or policies of his appointees.

- His appointee Pearl West and the CYA have reduced the average, already too short, confinements of juveniles by another 15 percent.
- His appointee Mario Obledo heads up the Health and Welfare Agency. The Departments of Correction, Youth Authority and Health are all within this agency. Prison gangs, inmate and patient deaths, poor quality care and poor administration have pervaded the prison and hospital facilities of these departments.
- Dr. Jerome Lackner, director of the Department of Health, remains a part of this administration even though he has been sharply criticized by a nonpartisan blend of leaders for his inability to administer, properly, this department.
- Adriana Gianturco, secretary of Transportation, constantly draws the ire of Democrats, Republicans, labor leaders and transportation experts for her freeway construction policies, her bias on public transportation and her mismanagement of that agency, as reported by the Little Hoover Commission and former Legislative Analyst A. Alan Post.
- The Governor's appointments to the bench — including Rose Bird as Chief Justice of the California Supreme Court — have drawn wide criticism from many lawyers and other citizens, whether Democrat, Republican or nonpartisan.
- The Governor has packed the State Energy Commission, the Agricultural Labor Relations Board and other regulatory boards with appointees who do not have an understanding of the value of the private enterprise system to our economy and the need for jobs.

The opening hours of the 1978 legislative session, which saw several efforts by Democratic legislators to override the Governor's vetoes, may be indicative that those in the Governor's own party are getting tired of the constant barrage of rhetoric, inconsistency and appalling inaction by this administration. Democrats must explain why there is so much conflicting rhetoric but few real accomplishments by the team in power in Sacramento.

They must try to explain why the Governor continues to take $1.28 from the taxpayers pockets for every $1 needed . . . why this administration continues to reap billions of dollars in an inflation-based tax "windfall" . . . why the "lowered expectations" of a few years ago is a "land of dreams" today . . . why violent crime continues undiminished while criminal penalties decline . . . and why bad appointments follow bad appointments.

Democrats must try to rationalize why these things continue to happen. Republicans already know. Democrats, facing reelection campaigns, may finally decide to "tell it like it is" and place the blame where it should be . . . on the Governor's shoulders.

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California *CAPSULES*

Supreme Court refuses to hear new *Serrano* case

The state Supreme Court on January 19th refused to consider whether the massive school-financing bill enacted by the Legislature last year complies with its *Serrano* decision which had struck down the state's traditional method of funding public education. The court denied a writ of mandate seeking to invalidate certain features of the new financing plan. The denial means that the case must be started at the Superior Court level. John McDermott, one of the key lawyers in the case, said it may take a year before the issue works its way up to the high court again.

By 6-1 vote, the Supreme Court ruled that a bar can be sued for wrongful death if it serves too much alcohol to a patron. In the case of *Ewing* v. *Cloverleaf Bowl*, a Fremont bar served 10 shots of 151-proof rum to a young man who died a few hours later of alcohol poisoning.

State flooded with petitions for initiatives

At the end of January, the Secretary of State's office reported that there were 13 organizations seeking signatures on initiative petitions in the state. Among the subjects: gambling, death penalty, abortion, busing, agricultural labor, taxation, school funding, homosexual teachers, and the trapping of animals. The abortion proposal would ban the use of public funds for abortion except in cases where the life of the pregnant woman is endangered. The signature deadline for the abortion issue is May 12th. Secretary of State March Fong Eu said that no initiative can qualify for the November ballot after June 29th, but that the 13 measures now being circulated have a variety of deadline dates.

PUC orders end to automated telephone calls

So-called junk telephone calls, automated telephone solicitation messages, were banned by the state Public Utilities Commission. The commission defined the device as any dialing equipment with number storage capability, a random or sequential dialing system or the ability to produce pre-recorded messages. Telephone company officials said the order would be difficult to police, and a PUC attorney said that there was some question as to the constitutionality of the ban. The PUC staff was also instructed to explore methods of regulating all telephone solicitation, including that done by individuals.

Migration pushes state population over 22 million

The state Department of Finance estimated that California's population hit the 22-million mark about November 1st of 1977. Walter P. Hollman, chief of population research in the department, reported that net migration was up sharply and totaled 190,000 persons during the year. He said it was the biggest jump since 1967, but far below the boom years of the late 1950s and early 1960s. The report indicated that Northern California counties are growing significantly faster than those in the southern part of the state.

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The passing of the guard

By Leo Rennert

The California congressional delegation is on the verge of a basic rejuvenation — a transfer of power from one generation to another — with the upcoming retirement of its two senior Democrats, John Moss of Sacramento and B. F. Sisk of Fresno.

Both rose to pivotal positions of influence by making the slow climb up the seniority ladder. In recent years, when post-Watergate reforms weakened the seniority system, they manoeuvered deftly to hoard the power they had so carefully acquired. They were not about to share much of it with young upstarts. As a result, their continued presence could not help but but make it more difficult for younger members in the delegation to have their day in the sun.

Between them, Moss and Sisk will have 50 years of service in the House by the time the last gavel falls this year. At 62, Moss is both dean of the 43-member California delegation and chairman of its big 29-member Democratic contingent. He is serving out his 13th term, having arrived in Washington just in time for Eisenhower's first inaugural. Sisk, 67, began his congressional service a couple of years later. As a protégé of the late Speaker Sam Rayburn, he was put on the House Rules Committee to break a GOP-Dixie blockade of Kennedy's legislative program. From this vantage point, he became an effective protagonist of California's agricultural, water-development and business interests. 'Bernie" Sisk's office often would be the first stop of a California banker, financier or corporate executive on a special lobbying mission to Washington.

But in the post-Watergate era, the dynamics of congressional power changed and the greening of America even reached Capitol Hill. Had they not decided to step down, Moss and Sisk were in danger of becoming political anachronisms. Moss tried to build the Democratic delegation into a cohesive force, but his imperious, self-righteous manner offended younger members and left the Californians badly splintered, unable to translate their big numbers in the House into an effective operation. The generation gap proved too much for anyone to bridge. For his part, Sisk found himself increasingly isolated on the conservative edge of a moderate-to-liberal Democratic contingent, which had little sympathy for his agenda of big water projects and benign support for agribusiness. Similarly, the Carter Administration's emphasis on environmental protection, water conservation and the break-up of large farms controlled by distant investors was 180 degrees at odds with Sisk's basic political orientation. On top of all this, House reformers changed the Rules Committee from a powerful independent conservative bastion, where Sisk had all kinds of opportunities to wheel and deal, into an obedient vassal of Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr.

Like Moss, who was just one reach away from a full committee chairmanship, Sisk thrived for many years near the top, but never quite made it to the summit. He was turned back twice by the House Democratic Caucus in bids for leadership positions. While both Californians were clear beneficiaries of the seniority system, they also were its victims. The grandest prizes eluded them and their patient wait finally was engulfed by the onrush of much younger legislators.

Several other California House members, including Democrat Yvonne Burke of Los Angeles and Republicans Del Clawson of Downey, Charles Wiggins of Fullerton and Shirley Pettis of Loma Linda, also plan to retire. But their departures will not have nearly the effect of the Moss-Sisk exit on how California manages its affairs in Washington and who the state's new power brokers will be. In a Congress with lopsided Democratic majorities, Wiggins, Clawson and Pettis did not have a chance to rise to posts of major influence. Burke, who is about to make a run for state attorney general, never got too absorbed in the congressional scene, preferring to make her mark in state and national party affairs.

The real action, even with possible Republican gains in next November's elections, will continue to be in the Democratic ranks. And the generational change among Californians on that side of the aisle could be rather awesome. From a group which today is still largely dominated by New Deal-bred politicians, the delegation is likely to have a clear majority of members who did not start their congressional service before Richard Nixon's second term.

There still will be a handful of old-order Democrats in the California ranks, but four of five will conform to the "new breed" profile — impatient with old political labels and seniority-encrusted practices, highly pragmatic in seeking new alliances and coalitions, and more responsive to the needs of cities than rural areas.

Some younger members already have begun to talk about democratizing the choice of a successor to Moss. Instead of passing the mantle of leader of the Democratic contingent automatically to the next senior member, John McFall of Manteca, who will be 60 at the start of the next Congress, they may push for a majority vote. That merely would accelerate the decline of the old order, which the Moss-Sisk retirements already have made inevitable.

At this point, it is much easier to define the old act which is bowing out than the new one which will take its place. While groping for new bearings, younger members have tended to blame their seniors for the delegation's weaknesses, conflicts and missed opportunities. To some extent, this is unfair because the delegation has been a mirror-image of the cultural, ethnic and economic divisions which battered California during the Vietnam War and the Nixon years.

But now, as John Kennedy once observed, the torch is about to pass to a new generation. The power will be theirs and there will be no room for alibis.

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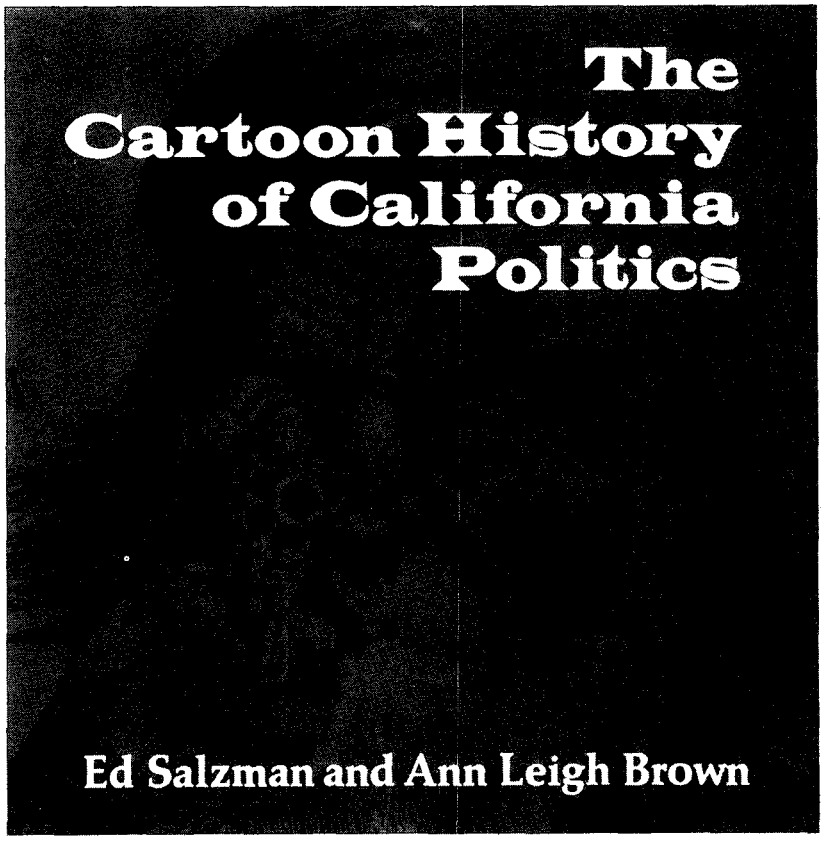

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